

The University of Chicago

KARL PHILIPP MORITZ AND HIS
CONCEPTION OF THE ARTIST

A PART OF A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE
FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF
PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF GERMANIC LANGUAGES
AND LITERATURES

1945

By

VIOLA MARINA FARMAKIS

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

1948

The University of Chicago

**KARL PHILIPP MORITZ AND HIS
CONCEPTION OF THE ARTIST**

**A PART OF A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE
FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF
PHILOSOPHY**

**DEPARTMENT OF GERMANIC LANGUAGES
AND LITERATURES**

1945

**By
VIOLA MARINA FARMAKIS**

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

1948

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I wish to express my sincere appreciation to Professor M. Jolles for suggesting this study on Karl Philipp Moritz and for his helpful guidance and counsel. I am also indebted to Professors H. M. Gamer and G. J. Metcalf for their valuable criticism and suggestions.



TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGMENT.	11
ABBREVIATIONS USED IN NOTES	1v
INTRODUCTION	1
 Chapter	
I. KARL PHILIPP MORITZ*	
General Remarks	
Karl Philipp Moritz, His Life and Works	
Moritz and His Friends Moses Mendelssohn and Goethe	
II. THE DEVELOPMENT OF MORITZ' IDEAS ON AESTHETICS (Excerpts)	4
III. MORITZ' CONCEPTION OF THE ARTIST	16
Explanation of the Term "das bildende Genie" as It Is Used in <u>Ueber die bildende Nachahmung des Schönen.</u>	16
What the Artist Accomplishes in the Production of a Work of Art.	18
The Creative Process	25
The Artist and Reality.	40
The True Creative Artist versus the False Crea- tive Artist	44
The Training of the Artist	48
IV. MORITZ' CONCEPTION OF THE ARTIST AS RELATED TO HIS PERSONAL EXPERIENCE	54
BIBLIOGRAPHY	67

*Mention is made of chap. 1 for the information of the reader. Attention is called to p. 3 of the Introduction.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN NOTES

WA: Goethes Werke.

E: Erinnerungen aus den zehn letzten Lebensjahren meines
Freundes Anton Reiser.

LP: Launen und Phantasien.

BN: Ueber die bildende Nachahmung des Schönen.

V: "Versuch einer Vereinigung aller schönen Künste und Wissen-
schaften unter dem Begriff des in sich selbst Vollendeten."

AR: Anton Reiser.

INTRODUCTION

Karl Philipp Moritz (1756-1793) represents a fascinating and worthwhile subject for research not only because of the problematic nature of his personality, but also because of the wide range of his interests as a thinker, a writer, and an educator. Besides contributing to the fields of journalism, pedagogy, theology, psychology, aesthetics and mythology, he concerned himself with problems of language: syntax, style, rhythm, etymology, and philosophy of language; he translated from English into German, ventured to compose some verse and drama, and wrote two autobiographical novels Anton Reiser and Andreas Hartknopf.

Study of Karl Philipp Moritz is hampered by the fact that there is no critical edition of his works, indeed no collected edition of his works whatsoever. Although a complete biography of Moritz has not been written, an excellent partial biography has been provided by Hugo Eybisch in a study entitled Anton Reiser. Untersuchungen zur Lebensgeschichte von Karl Philipp Moritz und zur Kritik seiner Autobiographie.¹ Eybisch gives a thorough and accurate account of Moritz' life up to the year 1790, and also treats somewhat summarily the years 1790-1793. Contrary to the statement made by G. W. Dunnington,² Eybisch has a legitimate reason for concluding his study with the year 1790. The narrative of the novel covers the years 1756-1776, but Eybisch was compelled to include the span of years within which it was written and published, when he realized that much of the thought which it contained was expressive of the older Moritz--the Moritz of 1776-1790. Since he was examining only Anton Reiser he concluded the main part of his investigation with the year in which Moritz had put the final

¹("Probefahrten. Erstlingsarbeiten aus dem Deutschen Seminar in Leipzig"; Leipzig: R. Voigtländer, 1909).

²Guy Waldo Dunnington, "The Relationship of Jean Paul to Karl Philipp Moritz" (Typewritten Ph.D. dissertation, Department of German, University of Illinois, Urbana, 1938), p. 4. Dunnington writes: "Unfortunately Eybisch's otherwise excellent biography of Moritz for no good reason does not cover the last period of his life, the years in Berlin after his return from Italy."

touches to his work (1790). The most important result of the study is that it produces conclusive evidence that the novel, considered as a whole, is essentially autobiographical. Appended to the text are two bibliographies. One lists chronologically the works written by Moritz and the other gives the literature on Moritz up to and including the year 1908. In addition Eybisch prints some letters to, from, and concerning Karl Philipp which are not readily accessible in this country. The bibliographical items in the Eybisch study have been supplemented by Robert Minder in a work called Die religiöse Entwicklung von Karl Philipp Moritz auf Grund seiner autobiographischen Schriften.¹ Minder's bibliographical references which are fairly complete up to the year 1936 are not separately listed. They are rather inconveniently incorporated into the explanatory notes which follow the text at the end of the book. Thus Minder's bibliography becomes workable only after one has gone through the work carefully, checked the notes, and extracted from them the references which apply specifically to Karl Philipp Moritz.

The bibliography which appears at the end of the present study lists all references which were actually used in the preparation of the text. Because of the difficulty involved in the utilization of Minder's references the most important publications which came out between the years 1908 and 1936 have been added even though they were not used in my investigation. Included in the bibliography is all of the available literature which has appeared since 1936.

.

The present study concerns itself with the aesthetic writings of Karl Philipp Moritz. However, instead of making the complete system of his aesthetics the central problem, it will be presented only as a background (Chapter II), in order to bring into relief the conception of the artist (Chapter III). I adopted this procedure when I became convinced that all of Moritz' aesthetic ideas centered around his conception of the artist. The importance of this conception has been mentioned in almost all of the earlier analyses of the aesthetics but no one as yet has tried

¹("Neue Forschung. Arbeiten zur Geistesgeschichte der germanischen und romanischen Völker"; Berlin: Junker und Dünhaupt, 1936).

to subject it to an intensive study.¹ An attempt will be made to show how this conception depended for its development on two experiences in Moritz' life: first, his futile efforts to become an artist and second, his acquaintance with Johann Wolfgang von Goethe in whom he recognized true creative genius (Chapter IV).

.

The published version of this dissertation represents an abridgement of the original. Several bibliographical details have been omitted from the introduction. Chapter I, a biographical summary, has been left out entirely. Wherever advisable biographical facts significant to an understanding of certain allusions in the text have been incorporated in the footnotes. From Chapter II excerpts are given consisting of a résumé of the two most important essays by Moritz pertaining to aesthetics. Chapters III and IV appear in full with no intrinsic alterations. However a few technical changes were inevitable since as a result of the deletion of foregoing material a very slight number of cross-references became irrelevant.

¹Several dissertations have dwelled on the subject of Moritz' aesthetics. Whereas W. Oehrens (Ueber einige aesthetische Grundbegriffe bei Karl Philipp Moritz [Hamburg: Hans Christian, 1935]) had confined himself to an analysis of the chief concepts in the Bildende Nachahmung, the other earlier studies had set as their main task an analysis and interpretation of Moritz' aesthetics considered as an entirety. Max Dessoir (Karl Philipp Moritz als Aesthetiker [Naumburg: H. Sieling, 1889]) sought to fit the views expressed by Moritz into the general pattern of aesthetics which had developed in Germany up to the publication of the Bildende Nachahmung. Karl Kindt (Die Poetik von Karl Philipp Moritz [Ph.D. dissertation, Rostock, 1924]) and Eduard Naef (Karl Philipp Moritz, seine Aesthetik und ihre menschlichen und weltanschaulichen Grundlagen [Affoltern a. A.: J. Weiss, 1930]) endeavored to demonstrate the extent to which Moritz' aesthetics had developed out of his peculiar character and basic philosophy. Special mention should be made of the brief discussion by Rudolf Fahrner, Die Götterlehre von Moritz, written in 1932 (Marburg, N.G. Elwert). Since Moritz' understanding of mythology is immediately dependent on his aesthetic theory, Fahrner's article rightfully belongs among the studies made on the aesthetics but it also belongs in a category by itself in that it represents the first article to be devoted completely to an analysis of the Götterlehre.

CHAPTER II

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MORITZ' IDEAS ON AESTHETICS¹

.

The fundamental principles in Moritz' aesthetics are contained in two essays. The first of these was published in the Berlinische Monatsschrift in 1785. It was written in the form of an open letter addressed to Moses Mendelssohn² and entitled "Versuch einer Vereinigung aller schönen Künste und Wissenschaften unter dem Begriff des in sich selbst Vollendeten." A synopsis of this essay is given here to permit comparison with the second essay--the Bildende Nachahmung.³

Addressing Moses Mendelssohn, Moritz opens his essay with a remark concerning the contemporary trend in aesthetics. The idea that an "imitation of nature" is the main purpose of art, he says, has been rejected; in its stead has been placed the concept of "pleasure." For as useful objects have their purpose in utility, so the fine arts have theirs in the capacity to afford

¹Details tracing the development of Moritz' ideas on aesthetics have been omitted here and the original scope of Chapter II (See Introduction p. 3) has, for the sake of brevity, been limited to a synopsis of the two most significant essays.

²Karl Philipp Moritz (born 1756 in Hameln an der Weser--died 1793 in Berlin) had spent his early boyhood in Hanover. He was separated from his parents in 1771. In 1776 he left Hanover with the hope of attaching himself to a theatrical troupe. His career in the theater was short-lived and after a period of desultory wandering he matriculated at the University of Erfurt and then at the University of Wittenberg. Eventually he had made his way to Berlin where he accepted a position as an instructor in the Berlin Gymnasium zum Grauen Kloster. Here among other things he published a periodical Magazin zur Erfahrungsseelenkunde (1783-1793) which attracted the attention of Moses Mendelssohn. The latter took a great interest in Moritz and sought to assist him in his creative endeavors by offering him direction and advice. Mendelssohn's efforts were cut short by his death in 1786.

³All quotations from both of these essays are taken from the Bernhard Seuffert edition in the "Deutsche Literaturdenkmale des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts" (Heilbronn: Gebr. Henninger, 1888). The essay of 1785 will be henceforth cited in the notes as V and the Bildende Nachahmung as BN.

pleasure.

Moritz raises the point that useful objects as well as art can afford pleasure, indicating the inadequacy of the contemporary viewpoint, and then proceeds to put a question, which he sets up for his point of departure. How does the pleasure derived from a useful object differ from that which is derived from the beautiful object? He concludes: pleasure derived from a useful object is of a cruder ("gröber"), meaner ("gemeiner") kind and fundamentally selfish, while that from beauty is of a higher, rarer kind and unselfish. The former we have in common with animals; the latter elevates us above them.

The useful object exists for a purpose outside itself, and is valued to the extent that it achieves its intended purpose. "Der bloss nützliche Gegenstand ist also in sich nichts Ganzes oder Vollendetes, sondern wird es erst, indem er in mir seinen Zweck erreicht, oder in mir vollendet wird."¹

The beautiful object does not have its purpose outside itself. It is complete in itself, "etwas ... in sich selbst Vollendetes,"² and affords pleasure for its own sake, "um sein selbst willen."³

An object is beautiful, declares Moritz, if it affords pleasure without actually being useful.

Since an object of beauty has no purpose ("Zweck") outside itself, one must look for it within itself, or, as Moritz says, in its "innere Zweckmässigkeit." The parts of the whole must display such a degree of completeness, that one forgets to ask what the meaning of the whole is. The whole must be complete in itself. "Ich muss an einem schönen Gegenstande nur um sein selbst willen Vergnügen finden; zu dem Ende muss der Mangel der äussern Zweckmässigkeit durch seine innere Zweckmässigkeit ersetzt sein; der Gegenstand muss etwas in sich selbst Vollendetes sein."⁴

¹ibid., p. 38, ll. 24-26.

²Ibid., p. 39, ll. 3-4.

³Ibid., l. 5.

⁴Ibid., p. 42, ll. 3-8. Moritz' definition of beauty suggests an acquaintance with Shaftesbury's *Characteristics*. Cf. Anthony Earl of Shaftesbury, *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times, etc.*, ed. J. M. Robertson (London: Grant Richards, 1900), I, 136: "Like that sovereign artist or universal plastic nature, he [the poet] forms a whole, coherent and proportioned in itself, with due subjection and subordinacy of constituent parts." In another instance Shaftesbury writes: "A painter, if he has any

The essay is concluded with remarks on the artist. The artist creates a work of art not for the sake of gaining approval or acclaim, but for the sake of producing an object of beauty. We shall have occasion to refer to these remarks in the following chapter.

Three years later Moritz published the second essay pertaining to aesthetics. It was entitled Ueber die bildende Nachahmung des Schönen (1788).¹

.

One reading of the essay is not adequate. Each subsequent reading reveals new ramifications and connections and added insight into the intricate pattern of Moritz' thoughts. Moritz himself regarded it as "his highest accomplishment,"² and to Campe he wrote: "Alles, was ich je über irgend einen Gegenstand schreiben werde, liegt in der Abhandlung über die bildende Nachahmung des Schönen. Und nach dieser Abhandlung wird es mir stets unmöglich bleiben, wenn ich mich auch dazu zwingen wollte, je etwas Oberflächiges zu schreiben."³ In truth, this essay stands at the pinnacle of his short life. It marks the culmination of his reli-

genius, understands the truth and unity of design. [His masterpiece] must be a whole, by itself, complete, independent, and withal as great and comprehensive as he can make it." (Ibid., p. 94.) For a discussion of the principle "die innere Zweckmässigkeit," see Eduard Naef, Karl Philipp Moritz, seine Aesthetik und ihre menschlichen und weltanschaulichen Grundlagen (Affoltern a. A.: J. Weiss, 1930), pp. 117 ff.

¹Subsequent to the death of Mendelssohn, Moritz left Berlin for a journey to Italy where he met J. W. von Goethe. They spent many hours together. Goethe introduced Moritz to his Pflanzen-theorie and together they read and discussed Herder's Gott. The correspondence of this period attests the fact that Moritz derived constructive benefit from his association with Goethe. Out of their long discussions and exchange of ideas grew the Bildende Nachahmung. The details regarding the composition and publication of this essay as well as Herder's, Schiller's, and Goethe's reaction to it, though included in the original version of this study, are not printed here.

²Wilhelm Fielitz, Schiller und Lotte. 1788-1805 (3d ed.; Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta, 1879), Book I, p. 168. "Er [Moritz] hat eine kleine Schrift drucken lassen, die er selbst für das höchste erklärt, was er leisten könne. Sie handelt von bildenden Künsten."

³Hugo Eybisch, Anton Reiser. Untersuchungen zur Lebensgeschichte von Karl Philipp Moritz und zur Kritik seiner Autobiographie ("Probefahrten. Erstlingsarbeiten aus dem Deutschen Seminar in Leipzig"; Leipzig: R. Voigtländer, 1909), p. 234.

gious and philosophical questioning, and far more important for this study, the culmination of his reflections on aesthetic temperament and true genius.

Moritz begins the Bildende Nachahmung with a discussion of imitation. He distinguishes first of all "imitation" and "ethical imitation," in order that he might later compare "ethical imitation" with "aesthetic imitation."

Selecting as a model the figure of Socrates, he explains how the comic actor and the "fool" ("Thor"), representatives of what is commonly called imitation, differ from the wise man, the representative of ethical imitation, in their manner of imitation.

The actor and the "fool" concentrate on the individuality of Socrates.

The actor is not intent on copying Socrates in every detail, as he appeared in actual life, but tries to reproduce with exaggeration the characteristic features of his individuality, in order to provoke laughter. The actor, according to Moritz, does not imitate at all; he parodies ("er parodiert").¹

On the other hand, he who copies Socrates' gait, posture, and gestures merely because he feels that he bears some resemblance to the old sage, does not imitate either; he apes ("er äfft nach"). "Er verhält sich zum Sokrates ohngefähr so, wie der Affe, in seinen possierlichen Stellungen und Gebärden, sich zum Menschen verhält."²

The wise man, contrary to the actor and the fool, excludes the individuality of Socrates and endeavors instead to approximate his wisdom and his virtues. Wisdom and virtue cannot be parodied or aped. They are the qualities which can be imitated in the true

¹Moritz considers only the comic actor. If one were to generalize from the conclusions drawn in this essay, it would appear that he regards acting as a skill rather than an art, for it does not come under the category of aesthetic imitation in the sense that Moritz understands it. Unlike the creative genius, the actor imitates consciously and with an audience in mind; in his imitation he is selective rather than slavish, but he is still copying or imitating in the ordinary sense of the word. It seems regrettable that Moritz does not elaborate on the subject of imitation to include the tragic actor. Probably Moritz was here not concerned with "acting" as a whole but merely with the one aspect which would best exemplify one of his three types of imitation. In Anton Reiser, where dramatic art is treated in some detail, nothing is said concerning imitation.

²BN, p. 3, ll. 22-24.

sense of the word. Instead of aping them, one must strive for them. Imitation as used in the more noble ethical sense is almost synonymous with the concepts of "rivalry" ("nachstreben") and "emulation" ("wetteifern").

With ethical imitation defined, Moritz raises the question: How does ethical imitation differ from that of the fine arts or how does the imitation of the "good" and of the "noble" differ from the imitation of the "beautiful"?

The "noble," Moritz concludes, signifies inner beauty of the soul ("innere Seelenschönheit"), as well as a certain degree of spiritual dignity ("innere Seelenwürde"). Having decided that this concept can apply only to inner spiritual values, Moritz has reached the point where he can logically introduce "aesthetic beauty." If "nobility" refers to inner spiritual beauty, "aesthetic beauty" refers to beauty as it appears on the surface.

What then is the essential difference between ethical and aesthetic imitation? In one respect they are alike: both imply "rivalry" and "emulation."

Aesthetic imitation, however, goes one step further than ethical imitation. For whereas the latter simply requires that one strive to acquire and to retain within himself a particular virtue perceived in a model, the imitator of aesthetic beauty cannot cease at the point where he has experienced beauty, but must seek to represent it in some form outside of himself.

From here to the end of the essay, Moritz proceeds to elaborate on the main theme, the creative imitation of beauty. He considers in turn (a) beauty, (b) the artist, and (c) the significance of art in the development of mankind.

In working up to his discussion of the artist, Moritz attempts first of all to establish further or, literally, to circumscribe the concept of beauty. For instead of answering directly the question: What is beauty? he chooses first to determine what it does not need to be; the remainder he ascribes to beauty.¹ The

¹Cf. J. Winckelmann, Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums (Wien: Phaidon Verlag, 1934), p. 139. Winckelmann endeavors to define beauty and in outlining his procedure he says: "In der allgemeinen Betrachtung über die Schönheit ist vorläufig der verschiedene Begriff des Schönen zu berühren, welches der verneinende Begriff derselben ist, und alsdann ist einiger bestimmter Begriff der Schönheit zu geben; es kann aber leichter, wie Cotta beim Cicero von Gott meint, von der Schönheit gesagt werden, was sie nicht ist, als was sie ist."

three salient features of this concept are:

1. Beauty need not be useful.
2. Beauty is an independent whole existing for its own sake.
3. Beauty is an independent whole, which is perceived by the senses and the faculty of imagination.

It will be recalled that the first two principles occurred in the essay of 1785. In the Bildende Nachahmung, however, a new element is introduced. Though beauty, which represents a totality, need not be useful, the parts which comprise it are useful inasmuch as they contribute to its cohesion.

The third principle is not original with Moritz. It had its beginning with the founder of the science of aesthetics in Germany, with Baumgarten.¹ In his Meditationes (1725) and the Aesthetica acroamatica (1750-1758), Baumgarten relegates the perception of beauty in art to the sensual faculties and separates it entirely from the intellectual faculty. Moritz, in confining beauty in art to the senses and the imagination, follows the trend in aesthetics which Baumgarten had started. It is for this reason that Moritz does not attempt to define beauty outright. Beauty, he maintains, cannot be comprehended, it must be experienced.

That which appeals to and is perceived by the senses is surrounding nature. But nature as a whole is far too vast to be perceived by human beings. However, if it could be perceived, nature would be the highest perceptible beauty, because it is the greatest independent whole or totality which exists for its own sake. The highest beauty in art, then, is only a representation of nature on a small scale--it is only an image of the totality; it reproduces, as it were, the essence of reality.²

¹Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten (1714-1762), disciple of the philosopher Christian von Wolff, taught in Halle and under the stimulus of J. J. Breitinger's (1701-1776) poetic theories laid the foundation for the science of aesthetics in Germany. See Albert Riemann, Die Aesthetik Alexander Gottlieb Baumgartens unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Meditationes philosophicae de Nonnullis ad Poema pertinentibus ("Bausteine zur Geschichte der deutschen Literatur"; Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1928).

²Since our purpose here is to give only a summary of the essay, controversial points are reserved for discussion in the next chapter. It must be stressed, however, that the three principles given above apply only to beauty in a work of art. Moritz

Then Moritz considers the subject of the artist. He treats at length the inherent qualities of artistic temperament and the creation of a work of art, concluding with a comparison of true creative genius and false creative genius. The details in this part of the essay¹ are omitted here since they will form the main part of the discussion in Chapter III.

As a kind of transition from the discussion of the artist to the last part of the essay, he goes back to the principle that beauty is not intellectually comprehended but must be experienced. This enables him to take up the question of the person who cannot create, but who must be content with mere contemplation of beauty perfected in works of art. It is here that the subjective or autobiographical element enters in and the systematic reasoning of his preceding discussion breaks down.

In the last pages there is a compact dynamic surge of thought and feeling. Moritz' prose becomes increasingly lyrical and almost ecstatic as he approaches the end. The essential theme is the purpose of art in the development of mankind, as a foretaste or presentiment of a state of harmony, into which every individual will at some time pass. Naef in his interpretation of this portion of Moritz' aesthetics writes:

Nicht von ungefähr ist es, dass wir dabei zu den tiefsten und erschütterndsten Partien von Moritzens Aesthetik kommen, erschütternd deshalb, weil hier einer aus dem Schmerz und Weh seines Daseins eine Metaphysik des Schönen zu schaffen versucht hat. Sie soll ihm Linderung seines Leidens und Stillung der innern Unruhe werden.²

Moritz conceives of the entire universe as undergoing incessantly a process of formation ("Bildung") from the lowest form of life to the highest. The only constant feature of this formation is that which actually brings it about--namely, unending existence.³ It is a formation which expresses itself as a desire

also uses the term beauty with reference to the totality of nature shortly after he has explained that it can never really be called beautiful, because it does not answer to all of the three principles in his definition.

¹BN, pp. 14-29. ²Eduard Naef, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

³One must keep in mind that Moritz distinguishes two aspects of existence, namely, the conscious existence of the physical being ("wirkliches Daseyn" or "Realität"), and eternal spiritual existence which was, is, and continues to be even after the expiration of the conscious self ("Existenz" or "jene grosse Harmonie").

to expand the scope of actual existence by crushing all weaker organisms. But destruction, in so far as it is caused by a higher organism and affects only a lower organism, is not detrimental, according to Moritz, but on the contrary, it is constructive for it contributes to the formation of higher life. Thus the plant wreaks havoc on inorganic matter, the animal on plant life, and man on both plant and animal.

The process does not cease here. There are two more stages, one which is realized within the normal span of life, another which may be realized only after the cessation of this life, when man as an individual no longer exists but his spiritual being continues as part of the harmony of eternal existence.¹

Man does not merely assimilate lower life and the existence surrounding him, he also seeks to represent it in some form outside of his own being--that is, by creating a work of art.

But even a work of art involves to a certain extent the process of destruction ("Zerstörung") and formation ("Bildung"). This it does in a twofold manner. In the first place, during the process of creation, the artist must transcend the limited scope of his individual being, if he is to succeed in producing a representation of the totality of nature. Moritz writes:

Das bildende Genie will, wo möglich, alle die in ihm schlummernden Verhältnisse jener grossen Harmonie, deren Umfang grösser, als seine eigne Individualität ist, selbst umfassen: das kann es nun nicht anders, als in verschiedenen Momenten, schaffend, bildend, aus seiner eignen eingeschränkten Individualität gleichsam heraus, in ein Werk, dass ausser ihm sich darstellt, hinüberschreitend, und mit diesem Werke nun das umfassend, was seine Ichheit selber vorher nicht fassen konnte.²

¹Moritz describes in his Anton Reiser the agony that he felt whenever he became aware of his limitations as an individual and of the transitoriness of life. The comfort and relief which he must have found in the idea that there is an unending universal spiritual bond can easily be imagined. He used this idea as the theme of a short speech given in 1791 entitled "Ueber die Vereinfachung der menschlichen Kenntnisse," Deutsche Monatsschrift, III (1791), 269-272. He writes:

"Nichts ist demüthigender für den Geist des Menschen, als die erstaunliche Disharmonie zwischen dem Umfange der Kenntnisse, die in seinem Gesichtskreise liegen, und zwischen der kurzen Dauer des Individuums, in welchem diese Kenntnisse zum Anschauen kommen sollen.

"Nichts ist aber auch erhebender, als der Gedanke, dass der Geist des Menschen, über seine eigne Individualität emporragend, mit der Vorwelt und der Nachwelt in harmonischer Eintracht durch ein geheimes Band verknüpft, durch diese kurze Spanne des Lebens nicht beschränkt wird" (p. 269).

²BN, p. 27, ll. 14-22.

The production of beauty, therefore, requires the artist to sacrifice temporarily his individuality; it destroys, so to speak, his conscious ego. In the second place, those who observe art must also make a sacrifice. They must forget their own existence and absorb themselves in the contemplation of the totality which the work of art represents.¹

The production of a work of art signifies a culmination in the spiritual development of mankind. For the species of man is in a constant process of elevating itself. But the species can go no higher than that point where it develops into the so-called "beautiful souls."

Höher aber kann die Menschheit sich nicht heben, als bis auf den Punkt hin, wo sie durch das Edle in der Handlung, und das Schöne in der Betrachtung, das Individuum selbst aus seiner Individualität herausziehend, in den schönen Seelen sich vollendet, die fähig sind, aus ihrer eingeschränkten Ichheit, in das Interesse der Menschheit hinüber schreitend, sich in die Gattung zu verlieren.²

Moritz does not indicate that the time will ever come when the whole species will attain the spiritual sublimity of a "beautiful soul." It is merely an ideal goal which can be achieved to a certain extent by the artist and at certain moments, that is, temporarily, by those who appreciate art.

Suffering which is caused by the fact that the lower elements must be sacrificed for the higher, is a necessary part of this development. For the individual or man must pay the penalty for his destruction of weaker organisms and furthermore for his perception of the harmony of the whole, just as every other species must pay for its depredation. The simplest plant tissue must atone for its plunder of the simpler elements, through de-

¹This is what Moritz meant when in the essay of 1785 he declared that the pleasure derived from a beautiful object is unselfish. (See above, p. 5.) In this same essay he says that the pleasure derived from the contemplation of beauty, must approximate as much as possible unselfish love (V, p. 41, ll. 11-12). "Während das Schöne unsre Betrachtung ganz auf sich zieht, zieht es sie eine Weile von uns selber ab, und macht, dass wir uns in dem schönen Gegenstand zu verlieren scheinen; und eben dies Verlieren, dies Vergessen unsrer selbst, ist der höchste Grad des reinen und uneigennütigen Vergnügens, welches uns das Schöne gewährt. Wir opfern in dem Augenblick unser individuelles eingeschränktes Dasein einer Art von höherem Dasein auf." (*Ibid.*, ll. 3-10.)

²*BN*, p. 31, ll. 27-33.

composition and withering; all higher life through physical pain and death; man, in addition to physical pain and death, must atone with sufferings of the soul.

-- Und das Individuum muss dulden, wenn die Gattung sich erheben soll.

Die Menschengattung aber muss sich heben, weil sie den Endzweck ihres Daseyns nicht mehr ausser sich, sondern in sich hat; und also auch durch die Entwicklung aller in ihr schlummernden Kräfte, bis zur Empfindung und Hervorbringung des Schönen sich in sich selber vollenden muss.¹

And even the individual is a part of this perfection. However in art, individual suffering resolves itself in compassion. Through this process, in which the individual is elevated above himself, the species perfects itself. That part of the individual which remains in so far as the development of the species is concerned is an ennobled existence; what is destroyed is merely his physical being ("sein Phantom").

Art, in representing the totality and involving in itself the principles of destruction and development, is a reflection of the same incessant process in the universe, by virtue of which the species retains its youth and beauty.² Because of this Moritz sees in art a prophetic significance. "So giebt das Schöne, in welches die Zerstörung selbst sich wieder auflöst, uns gleichsam ein Vorgefühl von jener grossen Harmonie, in welche Bildung und Zerstörung einst Hand in Hand, hindüber gehn."³ In witnessing in art the dissolution of a being of our own kind, we become conscious of the continuous dissolution of our own being. It is as though there were hovering before us a piece of that great circle

¹Ibid., p. 31, ll. 9-16.

²Closely related to the idea of "destruction," "death" and "sacrifice" as a means of maintaining "eternal youth" is Moritz' conception of separation:

Sie [die Trennung] ist das erste grosse Gesetz der Natur.--

In ihr liegt der Keim zu allen Bildungen.--

Sie ist die Mutter der Schmerzen und die Gebährerin der Wonne.

Sie erneuert unaufhörlich die Gestalten, und erhält das Ganze in ewiger Jugend.--

Da, wo die Scheere den Faden zerschneidet, beginnt ein Höherer Anfang.--

(Karl Friedrich Klischnig, Erinnerungen aus den zehn letzten Lebensjahren meines Freundes Anton Reiser [Berlin: Wilhelm Vieweg, 1794], p. 171. Henceforth cited as E.)

Cf. also what Moritz says about the effect that Goethe's Torquato Tasso had on him. (Eybisch, op. cit., p. 247.)

³BN, p. 35, ll. 31-34.

into which at some time our conscious self will disappear.

This constant process of destruction of the weaker by the stronger, which has its parallel in the formation of a less perfect into a more perfect, seems to imitate eternal beauty, which is above destruction and formation, and is represented in its purest form in the vault of the heavens and in the calm surface of the sea. This highest beauty cannot be defined. The beauty conceived by human beings is therefore only an imitation. Moritz writes: "Allein unser Begriff des Schönen verliert sich zuletzt doch immer wieder in dem Begriff der Nachahmung von etwas, worinn das Vollendete sich wieder zu vollenden, und unser eignes Wesen, in jeder Aeussrung seines Daseyns, uns unbewusst, sich aufzulösen strebt."¹ A work of art then is not the highest beauty but merely an approximation of the highest beauty, which man can but vaguely divine. This explains what Moritz meant when earlier in the essay he spoke of the emulative nature of aesthetic imitation.

After 1788 Moritz contributed to the Deutsche Monatsschrift a number of essays pertaining to aesthetics. Others were included in the collection Launen und Phantasien which came out after his death.² There will be occasion to refer to the most important articles in the next chapter. Suffice it to say that none of these essays is as comprehensive in scope as the Bildende Nachahmung. Their value, as far as the present study is concerned, lies in the fact that they clarify several of the ideas which had already been expressed in 1788. In 1791 Moritz published his Götterlehre and Anthousa oder Roms Altherthümer, examples of a practical application of his chief aesthetic principles. Among his last works were Vorlesungen über den Styl oder praktische

¹BN, p. 36, ll. 6-10.

²Edited by K. F. Klischnig (Berlin: Ernst Felisch, 1796). This work (cited in my notes as LP) is actually a new edition of Moritz' Die grosse Loge oder der Freimaurer mit Wage und Senkblei (1793), to which several other essays have been added. It contains the essay of 1785, parts of the Bildende Nachahmung presented as separate essays, articles which had appeared in the Deutsche Monatsschrift, as well as some other items. The material in this collection is not dated. It was therefore difficult to determine in some instances the relative significance of the ideas expressed. This was particularly true of the articles which were not to be found in other publications, for example the essay "Die metaphysische Schönheitslinie" which is quoted frequently in the next chapter.

Anweisung zu einer guten Schreibart in Beispielen aus den vorzüglichsten Schriftstellern (1793) and Allgemeiner deutscher Briefsteller, welcher eine kleine deutsche Sprachlehre, die Hauptregeln des Styls und eine vollständige Beispielsammlung aller Gattungen von Briefen enthält (1793).

In none of these later works does Moritz give such an intensive analysis of the artist as he does in the Bildende Nachahmung. This essay will, therefore, be used as the starting point for the analysis of Moritz' conception of the artist in the following chapter. As each point is considered, the discussion will branch out from the Bildende Nachahmung into relevant passages in other works.

CHAPTER III

MORITZ' CONCEPTION OF THE ARTIST¹

Explanation of the Term "das bildende Genie" as It Is Used in Ueber die bildende Nachahmung des Schönen

Before taking up in detail Moritz' conception of the artist, it is necessary to clarify one point. Just which type of artistic temperament does Moritz have in mind when in the Bildende Nachahmung he speaks of "das bildende Genie"?² Is this term synonymous with the term "der bildende Künstler" which also occurs in the essay?³ Close examination of the text will reveal that there is a distinct difference. "Der bildende Künstler" refers to the plastic artist, that is, the painter and the sculptor, whereas "das bildende Genie" refers to any kind of artist who produces objects in accordance with Moritz' idea of beauty. The difficulty in interpretation arises from the obscure use of the word "bildend." Where in the one instance it is used in the restricted technical sense, that is, "plastic," in the other it has the general meaning of "creative." The difference becomes especially apparent when Moritz uses as an alternate term for "das bildende Genie" the term "das schaffende Genie."⁴

¹Moritz' conception of the artist could not be neglected in any investigation of his aesthetics. All who have studied the aesthetics stress the importance of the artist and all take cognizance of the fact that it has its deepest roots in personal experience. Cf. Dessoir, op. cit., pp. 40-44; Naef, op. cit., pp. 108-110, 125 ff.; Oehrens, op. cit., pp. 39 ff. Kindt treats the difference between the creativity of the true artist and the dilettante. Because the writers of these works, however, were intent on the interpretation of the complete aesthetics, they could not give an adequate and thorough analysis of Moritz' conception of the artist. As a result, the conception of the artist is represented as just another part of the aesthetics and its real significance in Moritz' life is overshadowed by numerous other considerations.

²BN, p. 17, ll. 20-21; 19, ll. 20-21; 27, l. 14.

³Ibid., pp. 7, l. 3; 14, ll. 25-26; 15, ll. 10-11; 26, l. 24.

⁴Ibid., p. 19, ll. 7, 16-17. Cf. also p. 6, l. 25 where

Moritz does not confine his ideas in the Bildende Nachahmung to any one type of artist. The attributes which he describes form in the aggregate a picture of artistic temperament as such. An interesting point which may be brought up in this connection and which may help in explaining why Moritz did not trouble to limit himself to any one type of artist, is the inherent alliance which he felt existed between plastic and poetic art. In a letter to Goethe, Moritz explained his feeling that only the most perfect poem was the most perfect and correct description of a masterpiece of plastic art; and conversely a product of plastic art was the most perfect embodiment of a masterpiece of phantasy.

Das Resultat aus meinem bisherigen Nachdenken ist: dass das vollkömnenste Gedicht, seinem Urheber unbewusst, allein die vollkömnenste und richtigste Beschreibung des Meisterstücks der bildenden Kunst sey; so wie diss wiederum die vollkömnenste Umkörperung oder verwirklichte Darstellung des Meisterwerks der Phantasie ist.¹

Although this relationship between the two arts appeared clear and distinct to him, he felt incapable of describing just what it was that made the relationship possible. He could grasp it only in terms of what he calls "poetische schwebende Ausdrücke."² The same idea is expressed in the Erinnerungen but with a slight modification. Here it is stated that taste for an appreciation of beauty in the plastic arts must be developed by the observation of beauty in the poetic arts. The comment is added: "Denn die Poesie beschreibt das Schöne der bildenden Künste, in dem sie dieselben Verhältnisse mit Worten umfasst, welche in der bildenden Kunst durch Umrisse bezeichnet werden."³

Moritz refers to "das hervorbringende Genie." In the text I am translating the term "das bildende Genie" as "creative genius" or "creative artist." For the term "der bildende Künstler" I use "plastic artist."

¹Eybisch, op. cit., p. 236. Cf. also LP, pp. 104-105. In the latter, the word "Verkörperung" occurs in the place of "Umkörperung."

²Eybisch, op. cit., pp. 236-237.

³Op. cit., p. 193. Cf. LP, pp. 102 ff. Here Moritz expresses the same idea. He despairs of explaining in words the nature of this relationship, because he feels that whatever words could do this adequately would have to be the relationship itself, that is, beauty. This is an excellent example of Moritz' own feeling of inadequacy in matters of artistic expression.

The relationship between the arts would naturally presuppose a fundamental relationship among all types of artistic temperament. All true art was for Moritz an expression of the highest beauty in nature. Consequently every artist, be he a poet, painter, sculptor, or musician, is intent on but one thing--namely, to produce beauty. Every artist seeks to accomplish this purpose by means of an inherent creative power. This appears to be the only plausible explanation for the fact that Moritz does not attempt in the Bildende Nachahmung to distinguish the one type of artist from the other.

What the Artist Accomplishes in the Production of a Work of Art

We have already indicated by implication the answer to the question: what does the artist accomplish in the production of a work of art? Broadly stated, he externalizes an inner experience of the highest beauty in nature, that is, he transfers into a work of art his impression of the harmony in the totality of nature.

Ordinary human beings see only a part of nature, only so much as immediately surrounds them. Because of this limitation, reality as such does not appear to them as a well-ordered whole but only as an endless interrelationship of things and activities. They see the harmony of the whole dispersed imperfectly and seemingly promiscuously within the individual aspects of nature but never in the form of a self-contained totality. For every individual object or phenomenon in nature, though it represents an intricate pattern of organic interrelationship of parts and activities, is never complete in itself but is connected again with some other object or activity in nature.

Wohin wir blicken, sehen wir eine immerwährende Bildung des Einzelnen zum Ganzen und dieses Ganzen wieder zu einem grössern, und immer grössern, und zuletzt undenkbarem Etwas, das unsre stammelnde Zunge, da wo sie den sich immer selbst umwälzenden Begriffen nicht weiter folgen kann, in der letzten Anstrengung ihrer Kraft, das All, das grosse Ganze, die Natur nennt.¹

Only the artist succeeds in divining directly from nature

¹"Der Dichter im Tempel der Natur," Deutsche Monatsschrift, I (1793), 76. Cf. also LP, pp. 357-358 and Reisen eines Deutschen in Italien in den Jahren 1786-1788 (Berlin: Friedrich Maurer, 1792-1793), III, 141.

and experiencing the harmony of the totality, but not to its fullest extent, to be sure, for the artist as a human being has also only a limited degree of perception. "Die wahre Darstellung ist daher gewissermassen ein Ring mit der Natur, die doch immer mächtiger ist, und sich von dem menschlichen Geiste weder in Worte noch Umrisse bringen lässt."¹ The artist then transfers his experience into an object outside of himself and makes it accessible to our imagination and to the so-called outer sense.² "Jedes schöne Ganze aus der Hand des bildenden Künstlers," writes Moritz, "ist ... im Kleinen ein Abdruck des höchsten Schönen im grossen Ganzen der Natur."³ This statement immediately raises a number of questions. First of all, how can one speak of the highest beauty in the great totality of nature? Are they not one and the same thing? Secondly, if they are one and the same thing--and for Moritz they must be, otherwise he would have to admit of another self-contained totality existing alongside and within the great totality of nature itself--how can this highest beauty be reconciled with the last requisite of Moritz' conception of beauty, that is, that it must be perceived by the outer senses and the faculty of imagination? Doesn't Moritz say that the great totality cannot be perceived by the senses?⁴ With these questions we have touched upon a confusing problem which presents itself in the Bildende Nachahmung, and which originates in the fact that Moritz is frequently inaccurate and incoherent in the application of his terms. In order to clarify the problem it is necessary to follow Moritz' logic in the Bildende Nachahmung, where he tries to connect the principle of the highest beauty in nature with the beauty of a work of art.⁵ As was mentioned in the preceding chap-

¹"Ueber ein Gemählde von Göthe," Deutsche Monatsschrift, I (1792), 248. Cf. also LP, p. 321 and Vorlesungen über den Styl, ed. Johann Joachim Eschenburg (Braunschweig: Friedrich Vieweg, 1808), p. 61.

²The outer senses which Moritz refers to in the Bildende Nachahmung are the visual and the auditory. The term "imagination" is not used in this context in the wider sense, i.e., fanciful fabrication, but in the more literal sense, i.e., the formation of a mental image of whatever has been perceived by means of one of the outer senses. Ordinarily when Moritz wishes to express the idea of a whimsical fancy he employs the term "Fantasie." However, he is not always consistent in his terminology.

³BN, p. 14, ll. 25-27. ⁴See above, pp. 9-10.

⁵A certain amount of repetition is inevitable. A complete

ter, Moritz had defined beauty as a whole which exists for its own sake and can be perceived as such by the senses and the faculty of imagination.¹ Since it must be perceived by the senses and the imagination, it follows that the standard of beauty is determined by the sensory organs. Strictly speaking, though it is not immediately apparent, Moritz applies this definition only to a work of art, for it represents the only whole, in so far as ordinary man is concerned, which can be perceived by the outer senses. In keeping with the argument up to this point, Moritz asserts:

Aus eben dem Grunde können wir auch mit dem ganzen Zusammenhange der Dinge den Begriff von Schönheit nicht eigentlich verknüpfen, eben weil dieser Zusammenhang, in seinem ganzen Umfange, weder in unsre Sinnen fällt, noch von unsrer Einbildungskraft umfasst werden kann, gesetzt dass er auch von unserm Verstande gedacht werden könnte.²

The essential point in this passage is the remark that we cannot actually apply beauty to the great totality of things. However, after an interval of some short eight paragraphs, we find Moritz expressing practically the same idea but without the statement that one cannot apply the term beauty to the totality. Indeed, he suggests that the great totality is the highest possible beauty but merely in the absolute sense and never comprehensible by human kind. The passage in question follows:

Sonst würde freilich der Zusammenhang der ganzen Natur, welcher zu sich selber, als zu dem grössten uns denkbaren Ganzen, die meisten Beziehungen in sich fasst, auch für uns das höchste Schöne seyn, wenn derselbe nur einen Augenblick von unsrer Einbildungskraft umfasst werden könnte.³

According to this the beauty of a work of art is not the highest beauty itself but only beauty to a degree. Therefore in

understanding of Moritz' conception of beauty is essential to determine the proper position of the artist in his relationship to nature and the rest of mankind.

¹For Moritz' use of the term "imagination" see above, p. 19, n. 2.

²BN, p. 12, ll. 28-34.

³Ibid., p. 14, ll. 10-15. Cf. LP, p. 176: "Das einzige wahre, in sich Vollendete, ist nur die ganze Natur, als ein Werk des Schöpfers, der allein mit seinem Blick das Ganze umfasst, und den Zweck dieses grossen Gegenstandes in ihn selbst zurückwälzt. In so fern also hier Zweck und Mittel zusammen gedrängt eins ausmachen, stellt sich das allerhöchste Schöne nur dem Auge Gottes dar."

the remainder of the Bildende Nachahmung, Moritz does assume a highest beauty and he does apply beauty to the whole of nature. It is the highest beauty which the creative genius seeks to attain and to approximate in his finished product. Thus we would have to interpret Moritz' statement that every beautiful work of art is an image of the highest beauty in nature, as meaning that it is a representation, commensurate with the limitations of man, of the whole of nature as a harmonious, well-ordered entity.¹

Moritz' conception of beauty in art suffers a further modification when in connecting it with beauty in nature, he is compelled to admit that there is only one true self-contained whole, namely, the whole of nature herself. Thus the work of art is no real totality, claims Moritz, but an imagined one² which has merely the semblance of an independent whole. It acquires this semblance by virtue of the fact that it is formed in accordance with those same laws which make nature a self-contained totality. Moritz does not state in the Bildende Nachahmung just what these laws are. But he does, by way of intimation, give us an inkling of what he means. Essential is the cohesion and continuity of the parts or the manifold relationship of the parts to the formation of the whole. Just as in nature every thing is interrelated and contributes in some measure to its cohesion, so in a work of art we must be able to see a harmonious and complete pattern of manifold relationship of parts, not so that we are aware of the interrelationship itself, but so that we are aware of the totality which they represent. This Moritz had stated far more clearly in his "Versuch einer Vereinigung aller schönen

¹The opinion that beauty in art is only an approximation of an ideal beauty echoes an opinion expressed by Moses Mendelssohn in "Ueber die Hauptgrundsätze der schönen Künste und Wissenschaften." Mendelssohn writes: "Sie [die Künstler] wollen einen gewissen Gegenstand so abbilden, wie ihn Gott geschaffen haben würde, wenn die sinnliche Schönheit sein höchster Endzweck gewesen wäre und ihn also keine wichtigern Endzwecke zu Abweichungen hätten veranlassen können. Dieses ist die vollkommenste ideale Schönheit, die in der Natur nirgends anders, als im Ganzen anzutreffen, und in den Werken der Kunst vielleicht nie völlig zu erreichen ist." Moses Mendelssohn's Schriften zur Philosophie, Aesthetik und Apologetik, ed. Moritz Brasch (Leipzig: Leopold Voss, 1880), II, 151.

²The term "eingebildet" used in the German text is employed in its extended sense, i.e., it has the full import of our present usage of the word "imagined" with the added implication of "illusory."

Künste und Wissenschaften unter dem Begriff des in sich selbst Vollendeten," the essay which he had written in 1785.

We have then for the present the two degrees of beauty:

1. The highest beauty, which is the totality of nature itself, but which can never be perceived by the senses and the imagination.
2. The beauty of a work of art, which is a representation of the highest beauty in a form which can be perceived by the senses and the imagination.

In between stands the artist, who, within his limitations, perceives the highest beauty and transfers it into some tangible form whereby it is made available to others. But if the highest beauty cannot be perceived by the outer senses, how is it possible for the artist to experience it and to transfer it into a work of art? The intellect is barred for Moritz states very emphatically "das Schöne kann ... nicht erkannt, es muss hervorgebracht--oder empfunden werden."¹ The artist's creative ability ("Bildungskraft") and his receptive power (Empfindungskraft) are deeply ingrained; they go back to the very center of his soul and rest in a faculty which is far more comprehensive in its scope than either the outer sense, the imagination, or the intellect. They have their roots in what Moritz terms the faculty of energy ("Tatkraft"). "Der Sinn ... für das höchste Schöne in dem harmonischen Bau des Ganzen, das die vorstellende Kraft des Menschen nicht umfasst, liegt unmittelbar in der Thatkraft selbst, die nicht eher ruhen kann, bis sie das, was in ihr schlummert, wenigstens irgend einer der vorstellenden Kräfte genähert hat."²

"Tatkraft" or the energetic faculty, generally speaking, is the fundamental dynamic urge which pervades all beings and is the inherent force behind all perceptivity. It includes the impulses and beginnings of all our ideas and concepts, which accordingly are not complete; they become so only after they have been conceived by one or another of the perceptive faculties. But no one of the faculties is capable of apprehending in a single instance all of the ideas which are potentially present in "Tatkraft."

¹BN, p. 20, ll. 9-11.

²Ibid., p. 15, l. 36-p.16, l. 4.

Die Denkkraft muss sich, um dem, was die thätige Kraft in dunkler Ahndung auf einmal fasst, nachzukommen, so oft wiederholen, bis sie den ganzen Fonds von Anfängen und Anlässen zu Begriffen, der in der Thatkraft ihr unterliegt, erschöpft hat, und alsdann den Kreislauf von neuem beginnen kann.--Die Einbildungskraft muss noch weit öfter sich wiederholen, weil sie nicht in einander- sondern nebeneinanderstellend, jedesmal um so weniger fassen kann.--Der Kussre Sinn ist ein immerwährendes Wiederholen seiner selbst, weil er jedesmal nur so viel fasst, als in dem Horizonte, der undurchdringlich ihn umschliesst, wirklich neben einander steht.¹

From this quotation it is obvious that Moritz does attribute to the energetic faculty a certain degree of perceptivity, which he describes as a "dim divining" ("eine dunkle Ahndung"). That it is "dim" follows of necessity from the fact that it is composed of the mere impulses and beginnings of ideas. But the energetic faculty in its perceptivity has the advantage over the other faculties (intellect, imagination, outer senses) that it is more comprehensive. Although it lacks clarity and distinctness, it has content. The intellect, the imagination, and the outer sense might develop completely any one concept or combination of concepts which rest potentially in "Tatkraft," but in order to exhaust the entire store, they must resort to endless repetition. Because of this all-embracing quality of the energetic faculty and the constant simultaneity of its activity, Moritz considers it to be the only faculty which is in the position to be receptive to the highest beauty in nature.

Die Natur konnte ... den Sinn für das höchste Schöne nur in die Thatkraft pflanzen, und durch dieselbe erst mittelbar einen Abdruck dieses höchsten Schönen der Einbildungskraft fassbar, dem Auge sichtbar, dem Ohre hörbar, machen; weil der Horizont der Thatkraft mehr umfasst, als der Kussre Sinn, und Einbildungs-und Denkkraft fassen kann.²

Since "Tatkraft" is a universal faculty, one might argue that everyone, not necessarily the artist, is in a position to perceive by means of it the highest beauty. However, although all human beings possess "Tatkraft," they do not possess it in the same degree. Therefore, not all human beings are endowed with the sense for the highest beauty, that is, an adequate sensibility to that which surrounds them in order to perceive it as a harmonious totality. And even those who possess a more than ordinary sensibility often lack the ability to express whatever they

¹Ibid., p. 16, ll. 26-37.

²Ibid., ll. 13-19.

experience. Both are essential for the artist--an ultra-sensitivity for the nature which surrounds him and in addition to this, the urge and ability to create.

The horizon of "Tatkraft" in the creative artist, declares Moritz, must be as wide as that of nature herself; that is, his physical and psychical organism must be so highly developed that he possesses an almost infinite degree of sensibility.

... Die Organisation muss so fein gewebt seyn, und so unendlich viele Berührungspunkte der allumströmenden Natur darbieten, dass gleichsam die äussersten Enden von allen Verhältnissen der Natur im Grossen, hier im Kleinen sich neben einander stellend, Raum genug haben, um sich einander nicht verdrängen zu dürfen.¹

All the stimuli which the artist receives conglomerate within his being to form a miniature reflection of that same totality which occasioned them. The essential distinction which is made here is that the totality which is perceived by the energetic faculty of the artist is not the totality of nature in its actual magnitude but in a diminished form. If one were to see the image of the totality perceived by this faculty in the artist's being, it would appear as though it had been perceived through a concave lens. The totality as such and its countless ramifications would be there, but on a greatly reduced scale. It is the experience or "dim divining" of this diminished degree of the totality which impels the artist to produce a work of art.

Thus Moritz distinguishes three degrees of beauty. Earlier we were able to give the first and the third, namely, the absolute beauty and the beauty of a work of art, but could not include that degree of absolute beauty which is perceived by the artist, because we lacked the details which would enable us to differentiate it from the others. Beauty in art, we had determined, was a representation of the highest beauty or the totality of nature. The totality, it was maintained, could never be perceived as such by the senses or the imagination. Yet the artist who creates the representation must needs experience it. Furthermore, we had also established the fact that absolute beauty is an unattainable ideal. It was therefore necessary to determine just to what degree this totality could be perceived by the artist. The résumé of Moritz' conception of beauty which follows will also serve as

¹ Ibid., p. 17, ll. 22-27.

a convenient summary of our discussion up to this point. The three degrees or orders of beauty, which in my estimation Moritz distinguished, are as follows:

1. The totality of nature or absolute beauty.--This is the only true self-contained totality. It can be apprehended in its entire magnitude by a Divine Being but never by mortals. This beauty is the model which the creative artist strives to reproduce.

2. Absolute beauty in so far as it can be perceived by the artist.--The artist "divines dimly" by means of his faculty of energy the totality of nature. He does not experience it in its entire magnitude but on a reduced scale "im verjüngenden Maasstabe."

3. Beauty in art.--A work of art is a representation in concrete form of the highest beauty in nature in so far as it can be perceived by the true artist. It is only this representation which answers completely to the definition; Beauty is a self-contained whole which can be perceived by the senses and the faculty of imagination.¹

The Creative Process

It is now my purpose to determine just how the artist succeeds in transferring that degree of the highest beauty of nature which he perceives into a work of art. The two inherent attributes of creative genius, as we have said before, are an ultra-sensitivity

¹ Shaftesbury also distinguishes three degrees or orders of beauty. (Op. cit., II, 132 ff.) The principle of beauty, according to Shaftesbury, is mind. Beauty does not rest in matter but in "the art and design"; it is never "in the body itself, but in the form or forming power." The three degrees of beauty commencing from the highest and proceeding to the lowest, reversing the sequence of the author himself in order to facilitate comparing them with those outlined in the text above, are (1) sovereign or supreme beauty--"the principle, source, and fountain of all beauty," (2) forming forms, i.e., human beings which possess both form and forming power, and (3) dead forms, i.e., all such objects or things, structures, etc. which have no forming power or intelligence of themselves but which owe their formation to nature, i.e., to beauty of the first order and to man, i.e., beauty of the second order. "Therefore whatever beauty appears in our second order of forms, or whatever is derived or produced from thence, all this is eminently, principally, and originally in this first order of supreme and sovereign beauty." (Ibid., p. 133.) The marked difference between these three degrees of beauty and those of Moritz, is that the latter does not ascribe beauty to the "forming forms" as such, because they are of themselves imperfect and only that which they produce as an image of the "first principle," can qualify as beauty. Then, too, Moritz would not lump together under one category "metals, stone, painting, sculpture and music" as Shaftesbury does. He would agree with Shaftesbury, however, that all beauty emanates from a highest principle.

to the surrounding totality and an innate creative ability. Both of these attributes have their foundation in the faculty of energy ("Tatkraft"), which is operative throughout the entire process of creating a work of art. There are two distinct phases to this process. There is first a period of apparent passivity during which time the artist's sentient being absorbs the impressions from nature; this is then followed by a period of pronounced activity during which the artist's creative power is in operation. The first phase must not be construed as a period of sheer inertia, for receptivity implies in itself a kind of activity which goes on inwardly but is not externally manifest. Essential for this phase of the creative process is the tranquil contemplation of nature ("die stille Betrachtung der Natur"). In the Bildende Nachahmung very little is said about this principle. However, Moritz does emphasize the fact that beauty can be conceived by the artist only in times of peace when his entire soul is engrossed in contemplation. Absorbed in nature, he gradually becomes aware of the harmony of the totality.

Er lernt allmählig das Einzelne im Ganzen, und in Beziehung auf das Ganze sehen; fängt die grossen Verhältnisse dunkel an zu ahnden, nach welchen unzählige Wesen auf und ab, so wenig wie möglich sich verdrängen, und doch so nah wie möglich an einanderstossen.--¹

Auf die Weise bildete unter jedem Himmelsstrich die Natur das Schöne, sich in den reinsten Seelen in ihren ruhigsten Momenten spiegelnd.--²

The principle of "Stille Betrachtung der Natur" had become a kind of life-dictum with Moritz. Not only did he regard it as the sine qua non of artistic production, but he also believed it to be the best means for any human being to develop self-reliance, inner strength, and clarity of thought. He himself cherished a sincere religious adoration of nature. In moments of dire loneliness and despair, it was his faith in her divine providence that helped to restore the equilibrium of his distraught forces. "Sie ist meine Mutter, meine Freundin" he writes in one instance.³

¹BN, p. 26, ll. 4-9.

²Ibid., ll. 21-23. Cf. also ibid., p. 29, ll. 1-9; "Der Dichter im Tempel der Natur," op. cit., p. 72; LP, pp. 349, 359.

³LP, p. 40.

Ihr wohlthätiger Hauch giesst Balsam in meine verwundete Seele.--Meine kranke Phantasie wird immer reiner und heller, indem sie allenthalben reizende wohlthätige Bilder sammlet, und sie harmonisch ordnet; jedes Blättchen am Baume, das ich mit Wohlgefallen betrachte, flösst mir sanfte Empfindungen ein.¹

In Launen und Phantasien,² he relates how in one of his dejected moods he had sauntered off to the quiet of a meadow to seek in nature the happiness which he had failed to find in the rest of the world. As his eyes surveyed the landscape, they came to rest on a flock of wooly sheep grazing in the green grass beneath the shade of a tree. This scene was inexplicably refreshing to his heart and vision. It elevated his soul imperceptibly and rendered it more susceptible to the impressions from nature. Enumerating the single impressions which he received, he describes the manner in which they united to form a complete picture in his soul that brought a quiver to every nerve of his being. The apparent disharmony of the world had instantly resolved itself into harmony. His soul obtained momentarily a glimpse into the innermost sanctuary of nature. For in the instant in which he beheld the harmony of this one natural sight, it was as though he had beheld the harmony of the universe. The artist in contemplating nature undergoes a similar experience. Moritz has written two essays which stress this principle of "Stille Betrachtung." The one is entitled "Ueber ein Gemählde von Göthe,"³ and the other is called "Der Dichter im Tempel der Natur."⁴ In the first Moritz subjects to a stylistic analysis the oft-quoted passage from Goethe's Werther which begins with the words, "Ich könnte jetzt nicht zeichnen, nicht einen Strich, und bin nie ein grösserer Mahler gewesen, als in diesen Augenblicken."⁵ These words, it will be recalled, are followed by a graphic description of nature. What Moritz finds particularly laudable in the passage is the

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., pp. 41 ff.

³Deutsche Monatsschrift, I (1792), 243-250. This essay is also included in Vorlesungen über den Styl, pp. 56-78 and in LP, pp. 312-327.

⁴Deutsche Monatsschrift, I (1793), 72-78. Cf. also LP, pp. 349-362.

⁵Goethes Werke (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1887-1919), XIX, 8. This edition is cited henceforth as WA.

beauty and truth of expression. This he attributes to the fact that the author had permitted himself to yield completely to the impressions of nature. "Die Schönheit und Wahrheit im Ausdruck ... muss wohl vorzüglich darin ihren Grund haben, dass einer sich mit einer gewissen Ruhe der Seele den Eindrücken der schönen Natur überlässt, und die Folge derselben durch die Darstellungs-sucht bey ihm nicht unterbrochen wird."¹

In the second essay, Moritz tries to show that not only Goethe's masterpieces but also the writings of Gessner, Ramler, Klopstock, Gleim, and Voss grew out of a preliminary period of contemplation of nature.

For example, he writes of Klopstock: "Genährt durch ruhigen stillen Naturgenuss, strömte Klopstock in seiner Frühlingsfeyer und seinen frühen Gräbern, das höchste Maass von Empfindung aus, wodurch unser innerstes Wesen sanft bewegt und erschüttert wird."² Similarly he says of Voss:

Genährt durch jenen ruhigen harmonischen Natur und Kunstgenuss konnte Voss, durch seine unübertrefliche Uebersetzung des Homers, uns von dem Höchsten der Dichtkunst, in unsrer eignen Sprache, den reinsten Abdruck geben, und in den Marschländern seinen Pfarrer von Grünau mit griechischer Einfalt und Wahrheit dichten.³

These examples will suffice to illustrate how this principle had become so essential to Moritz' aesthetic philosophy. Minder sees in it a survival from the Guyon mysticism.⁴ In addition he points out some highly illuminating analogies to Madam Guyon in Moritz' aesthetic terminology. However, it is extremely questionable whether there was any conscious effort on the part of Moritz to adopt mystic principles and terminology in order to defend himself against the Rationalists as Minder suggests.⁵ There was nothing more natural for Moritz than to recall some of the basic principles of the mysticism of his youth when in his religious views he turned from a rationalistic philosophy to a mystic pantheism. There is a true ring of the mystic element, however, in the notion that the artist must become so absorbed in

¹"Ueber ein Gemählde von Göthe," op. cit., p. 247.

²"Der Dichter im Tempel der Natur," op. cit., p. 74.

³Ibid. ⁴Robert Minder, op. cit., pp. 247-248.

⁵Ibid., p. 249.

nature that he loses consciousness of his individual being and becomes one with the total existence.

In the aforementioned essay, "Ueber ein Gemählde von Goethe," Moritz claims: "Derjenige wird die Natur am besten beschreiben, wer sie so empfindet, dass sie mit ihm selber gleichsam ein Ganzes ausmacht, indem er sich in sie versenkt, und mit ihr auf das innigste verwebt fühlt."¹ And in the same essay he says with reference to the Werther passage cited earlier:

Was für ein reines Organ und was für ein heller ausgebildeter Spiegel der Seele aber wird zu einer solchen Beschreibung vorausgesetzt. In den Augenblicken, wo eine solche Beschreibung glücken soll, muss das einzelne Selbstbewusstseyn sich gleichsam in dem Mitbewusstseyn des grossen Ganzen der Natur verlieren, wovon das denkende und empfindende Organ durchströmt wird.²

The mystic element is equally or indeed still more pronounced in the passages which describe the position and attitude of the person who is not an artist but merely observes the work of art. Since we are primarily concerned with the artist, it is not necessary to go into detail on this point. Nevertheless, we should stress the fact that even for the recipient a genuine appreciation of beauty is dependent on the principle of quiet contemplation.

Auch das süsse Staunen, das angenehme Vergessen unsrer selbst bei Betrachtung eines schönen Kunstwerks, ist ein Beweis dass unser Vergnügen hier etwas untergeordnetes ist. ... Während das Schöne unsre Betrachtung ganz auf sich zieht, zieht es sie eine Weile von uns selber ab, und macht, dass wir uns in dem schönen Gegenstände zu verlieren scheinen; ... Wir opfern in dem Augenblick unser individuelles eingeschränktes Dasein einer Art von höherem Dasein auf.³

In the essay of 1785 there is no reference whatsoever to the necessity of quiet contemplation in the process of creating a work of art. This is obviously to be attributed to the fact that Moritz did not attempt at the time to relate art and the artist's activity to nature. His chief purpose was to rescue beauty in a work of art from all teleological interpretation. Nature did not begin to figure in his aesthetics until after the Italian journey. Nevertheless Moritz had fostered since early youth that profound reverence for nature which was mentioned earlier in this discussion. I shall cite but two of many available passages.

¹Op. cit., p. 249.

²Ibid., p. 250.

³V, pp. 40-41.

Both appear in one of his earliest literary ventures, the Reisen eines Deutschen in England im Jahr 1782.¹ In the one instance Moritz describes his visit to St. Paul's in London. As he stepped into this massive edifice, he was utterly appalled by its cold majestic emptiness. It was, he declared, a matter of amazement to him that such a structure could invite the worship of God, for he beheld nothing but immense bare walls and pillars and above him, at an astonishing height, a vaulted stone roof.

Will man sagen, dass ein solcher Tempel der Verehrung des höchsten Wesens am angemessensten sey, so lobe ich mir doch den grossen Tempel der Natur, das blaue Gewölbe des Himmels, und den grünen Teppich, der den Fussboden bekleidet, hier ist ein grössrer Tempel, und hier ist nichts Leeres, alles ist hier voll von Spuren der göttlichen Gegenwart; wollen aber Menschenhände diesen Tempel nachahmen, so muss nothwendig etwas darinn angebracht seyn, dass mich für das Volle und Lebendige in der Natur schadlos hält, und mich den erhabnen Endzweck eines solchen Gebäudes einigermassen sehen und empfinden lässt.²

The second passage occurs considerably later, as he approaches the end of his itinerary. Upon descending into a subterranean cavern at Castleton some twenty miles beyond Matlock, he becomes lyrical over the wondrous miracle of nature. He writes:

Dieser unterirrdische Tempel, woran keine Menschenhand gelegt war, schien mir in dem Augenblick an Regelmässigkeit, Pracht und Schönheit, die herrlichsten Gebäude zu übertreffen.

Voll Ehrfurcht und Erstaunen sah ich hier in den innern Tiefen der Natur die Majestät des Schöpfers enthüllt, die ich in dieser feierlichen Stille, und in diesem heiligen Dunkel anbetete, ehe ich die Halle dieses Tempels verliess.³

The ultimate incorporation of the principle of "quiet contemplation of nature" into the main aesthetic essay of 1788, the Bildende Nachahmung, apart from its foundation in Moritz' own personality and experience, may very easily have been encouraged by external influence.⁴

¹ ("Deutsche Literaturdenkmale des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts"; Berlin: B. Behr, 1903).

²Pp. 55-66.

³P. 123.

⁴Shaftesbury's aesthetic ideas had been gaining increasing momentum in Germany during the eighteenth century. Herder and particularly Goethe had become willing disciples of some of his doctrines. Shaftesbury had pointed out the analogy between creativity in art and creativity in nature and the value of "soliloquy" to true poetic genius. In the chapter "Soliloquy" or "Advice to an Author" there is greater stress on rational self-discipline

We turn now to the more active phase in the creative process--to that moment in which the artist, in accordance with his limitations, becomes aware of the harmony in the totality of nature. In a sense this still belongs to the receptive stage of the artist's creativity, for it takes place just before the actual process of externalization. As soon as the energetic faculty of the artist perceives such a totality, the other faculties, that is the outer senses, the imagination and the intellect, become restless. They cannot remain content with the mere contemplation of the individual aspects of nature. The totality perceived must be relayed to one or another of these faculties in order that

rather than on a quest for spiritual communication with nature. Later in the fifth treatise, however, we find Theokles, one of the characters in a dialogue, waxing rhapsodic over beneficent nature in a tone which is reminiscent of Moritz. Theokles says:

"Ye fields and woods, my refuge from the toilsome world of business, receive me in your quiet sanctuaries, and favour my retreat and thoughtful solitude. Ye verdant plains, how gladly I salute ye! Hail all ye blissful mansions! known seats! delightful prospects! majestic beauties of this earth, and all ye rural powers and graces! Blessed by ye chaste abodes of happiest mortals, who here in peaceful innocence enjoy a life unenvied, though divine; whilst with its blessed tranquillity it affords a happy leisure and retreat for man, who made for contemplation, and to search his own and other natures, may here best meditate the cause of things, and, placed amidst the various scenes of nature, may nearer view her works.

"O glorious nature! supremely fair and sovereignly good! all-loving and all-lovely, all divine! whose looks are so becoming and of such infinite grace; whose study brings such wisdom, and whose contemplation such delight; whose every single work affords an ampler scene, and is a nobler spectacle than all which ever art presented! O mighty Nature! wise substitute of Providence! impowered creatress! Or thou impowering Deity, supreme creator! Thee I invoke and thee alone adore. To thee this solitude, this place, these rural meditations are sacred; whilst thus inspired with harmony of thought, though unconfined by words, and in loose numbers, I sing of Nature's order in created beings, and celebrate the beauties which resolve in thee, the source and principle of all beauty and perfection." (Shaftesbury, *op. cit.*, II, 97-98.)

Such a prose hymn to nature as this might very easily have been recited with equal ardor by Moritz. Again it is impossible to state whether Moritz was acquainted with the original. For one must take cognizance of the fact that the Characteristics which had been translated into German in 1776-79 had made the chief principles promulgated by Shaftesbury current in literary circles. If Moritz had not read the English version or the translation, he had access to the philosophy indirectly through his many friends who were more or less versed in the original teachings.

they may regain their equilibrium. Since the intellect cannot comprehend beauty, Moritz does not mention it and says: "Alle die in der thätigen Kraft bloss dunkel geahndeten Verhältnisse jenes grossen Ganzen, müssen nothwendig auf irgend eine Weise entweder sichtbar, hörbar, oder doch der Einbildungskraft fassbar werden."¹ Which of these three outlets the energetic faculty will take, will depend entirely on the medium for which the artist is best adapted.

The initial experience of the harmony in nature does not immediately determine the work of art. The artist's energetic faculty which has perceived the totality on a reduced scale must first draw the infinite ramifications which constitute the highest beauty into a focal point ("Brennpunkt"). From this point a faithful and true image of the highest beauty must be formed. The use of the term "Brennpunkt" in the Bildende Nachahmung appears at first to be somewhat ambiguous. At one moment it is used with reference to the activity which goes on within the artist's being prior to actual externalization,² while in another it is used specifically with reference to the completed work of art.³ The confusion is removed, however, the instant one becomes aware of the fact that Moritz conceives of two states of completion in the production of a work of art. There is on the one hand what we might term the subjective completion which occurs spontaneously within the artist, while on the other hand there is the objective completion, that is, the final expression of the work of art in a medium. "Bei dem wahren Künstler muss das Kunstwerk, was er hervorbringen will, gleichsam erst in seiner Seele reif geworden seyn."⁴ For an illustration of this we turn to another essay in the Launen und Phantasien. The true artist, Moritz explains, because of the wide horizon of his energetic faculty, possesses a wealth of great and noble ideas which have been accumulating since childhood. These "great ideas" are woven into the continuity of his lesser thoughts and ideas and with these contribute to the perfection of his being. As soon as the nobler and greater thoughts have attained a certain state of maturity, the artist feels the urge to express or to represent

¹BN, p. 18, ll. 5-8.

²Ibid., ll. 10-17.

³Ibid., p. 22, ll. 16-19.

⁴LP, p. 169. Cf. also BN, pp. 18-19.

them in some objective form. Yet the mere urge does not suffice for the production of a genuine object of beauty. For the artist's great ideas as such are not centralized, that is, united among themselves, but are interwoven into the wider pattern of his sensitive being. In order that they may resolve themselves into a representation of beauty, all these great and noble thoughts must somehow work towards a definite end or purpose which, acting as a center of gravity, draws them around itself in the most convenient and natural manner and releases them from their connections with the other thoughts and feelings in the artist's soul.

Was in dem Moment der höchsten Reife der grossen und edlen Gedanken die lebhafteste und wichtigste Vorstellung in der Seele des Künstlers ist, sey sie auch nur durch zufällige Umstände veranlasst worden, an diese schliessen sich plötzlich alle seine übrigen grossen und edlen Gedanken, und lösen sich verhältnismässig von dem Zusammenhange der übrigen Vorstellungen ab, je mehr sie sich an der einzigen Hauptvorstellung festhalten.¹

Thus as soon as Homer had his Achilles, all of his battles, heroes, characters, and his great and noble thoughts found a point of centralization.

Alle seine grossen und erhabenen Vorstellungen reissen sich jetzt mit einiger Beschwerlichkeit aus dem Zusammenhange seines Denkens gleichsam aus seiner Ichheit heraus, und neigen sich gegen sich selber, um etwas ausser ihm bestehendes, in sich Vollendetes zu seyn.²

A further example, which Moritz does not give but which is to be found in the memoirs of his ideal poet, Goethe, can appropriately be cited here. Goethe relates in Dichtung und Wahrheit that for two years the material of Werther occupied his mind without taking form. Then he received one day the startling news of his friend Jerusalem's suicide, and as he says: "Das Ganze schoss von allen Seiten zusammen und ward eine solide Masse, wie das Wasser im Gefäss, das eben auf dem Punkte des Gefrierens steht, durch die geringste Erschütterung sogleich in ein festes Eis verwandelt wird."³

The second state of completion in a work of art is, of course, the final externalization or crystallization in an objective form of this inner experience. Since the Bildende Nachahmung

¹LP, pp. 170-171.

²Ibid., p. 171.

³WA, XXVIII, 221.

contains virtually nothing on the subject, we must again resort to the material in the Launen und Phantasien. In an essay entitled "Die metaphysische Schönheitslinie," there is described in considerable detail the manner in which the poetic artist succeeds in giving to a work of art the requisite "inner perfection."

The chief aim of the artist, as has been made apparent from all that has preceded, is to produce something which like the absolute totality of things represents a self-contained whole. "Der Künstler muss suchen, den Zweck, der in der Natur immer ausser dem Gegenstande liegt, in den Gegenstand selbst zurückzuwälzen, und ihn dadurch in sich vollendet zu machen."¹ As an illustration Moritz cites the story of the Iliad. The events and episodes which compose the epic appear in an entirely different light when regarded from the point of view of their significance in universal history. In history these events are important for us only in so far as they are connected with the universal course of things. They are just another link in the totality. "Sie würden sich in das Ganze verschwimmen, ihr Zweck würde immer in ihren Folgen ausser ihnen seyn, und wir würden in ihnen nie ein Ganzes überschauen."² The poet, however, releases these events from the continuity of things and interconnects them in such a manner that they converge or incline into one another and no longer have bearing on anything outside of themselves. Thus in the epic we forget the connections that these events have in the universal course of things, and we think that we have before us a small world--a totality of events presented in miniature.

Der Dichter schneidet die Fäden ab, wodurch die Begebenheiten eine Neigung ausser sich bekommen könnten, er lässt dasjenige weg, was in eine andere Sphäre von Begebenheiten eingreift, er rückt Ursach und Wirkung näher zusammen, als sie es in dem gewöhnlichen Lauf der Dinge sind; eine Mannigfaltigkeit von auseinander fliessenden Begebenheiten, die sich kaum in Jahrhunderten zutragen, sehen wir hier in einem kurzen Zeitraum zusammengedrängt.³

The poet lifts his subject from its position in the reality of things and gives it a form of its own which is analogous to the form of the totality of which it was originally a part. With reference to the dialogue in the drama Moritz writes:

So muss also der Dichter bei einem jeden Dialog im Drama, dasjenige gehörig abzuschneiden wissen, was derselbe, der

¹ LP, p. 173.

² Ibid., pp. 173-174.

³ Ibid., pp. 174-175.

gewöhnlichen Folge der Dinge gemäss, nun noch ferner in sich fassen müsste; und in jedem folgenden Dialog, muss alles, was gesagt wird, immer weniger Beziehung auf irgend etwas anders in der Welt als auf die Katastrophe des Stücks haben; es muss also immer mehr äusserlich Zweckmässiges von jeder Unterredung abgeschnitten werden, je mehr das Drama in sich selbst vollendet seyn, oder innerliche Zweckmässigkeit haben soll.¹

Thus the very essence of the artist's creative ability depends on his dexterity at lifting his subject out of the mass of totality and giving it an increasingly isolated and independent existence. All creation, Moritz remarks at one time, rests on the principles of "isolating" ("Isoliren") and of "separating" ("Aussondern"). "Je mehr etwas sich selber isolirt, seinen eigenen Umriss um sich herzieht und seinen Schwerpunkt in sich selber hat, desto weniger ist es zufällig, desto weniger fällt es zu etwas anderm und vermischt sich damit."² And speaking of poetic art Moritz says: "Aller Reitz der Dichtung beruht auf diesem Isoliren, Aussondern aus dem Ganzen, und darin dass dem Isolirten ein eigener Schwerpunkt gegeben wird, wodurch es sich selbst wieder zu einem Ganzen bildet."³

Thus we return to the essential condition that every work of art must have a point of centralization. The artist can arrest the attention of an audience only if his work of art permits an easy survey, that is, if it can readily be perceived as a harmoniously composed totality. No one constituent part of a work of art should be made so prominent that it draws the attention away from the whole. The artist must so compose his masterpiece that the details of themselves are not satisfying. Each detail must point to another detail and ultimately to the whole.

Dieser erste Grundsatz ist so fest, dass gar kein Zweifel dagegen statt findet; wer die einzelnen Theile oder die Verzierungen in einem Kunstwerke so hervorstechend macht, dass meine Aufmerksamkeit dadurch zerstreuet, und die Uebersicht des Ganzen mir dadurch erschwert wird, der hat gewiss das Ganze selbst verunstaltet, statt es zu verschönern.⁴

Mere variety which gives no bounds to the imagination is insipid and conducive to boredom. Klisché, in enumerating the main principles of Moritz' aesthetics, supplies the proper supplement to these remarks. Every genuine work of art, he says, must

¹Ibid., pp. 182-183. ²Ibid., p. 131. ³Ibid., p. 132.

⁴"Einfachheit und Klarheit," Deutsche Monatsschrift, II (1792), 35.

possess a focal point, whereby all its parts and their relation to one another are necessary. The more indispensable the individual parts are to the whole and to one another, the more beautiful the work of art; and, inversely, the less indispensable they are, the more mediocre the work of art.¹ This rigid insistence on formal perfection can be explained again by the basic principle that art is a representation of the totality of nature. Just as the whole of nature is composed of necessarily and infinitely related parts which contribute more or less to its cohesion, so in a work of art we must behold the same inner necessity, continuity, and unity. Only he who can produce such a totality can claim the title of artist. Caroline Herder writes to her husband on the nineteenth of December, 1788:

Er [Moritz] hat uns letzthin mit einer ganz eignen Deutlichkeit und Innigkeit gesagt, nur der sei ein Dichter, Künstler, Schöpfer, der seinem Werk eine vollständige Form und lebendige Gestalt geben könne, in welcher Sache als es auch sei.²

According to Caroline, Moritz had come upon the idea of looking for the focal-point in art through his study of perspective,³ which he had begun while in Italy under the guidance of Verschaffeldt.⁴ He had taken such a keen interest in the subject that he continued it after his return to Germany and taught it as a part of his curriculum at the academy in Berlin. Perspective, he believed, was vital to anyone who would care to have a proper

¹E, pp. 192-193.

²Heinrich Düntzer and Ferdinand Gottfried von Herder (eds.), Herder's Reise nach Italien (Glessen: J. Ricker, 1859), p. 199. "In welcher Sache als es auch sei" indicates that Moritz applied this principle to all things devised and created by man. Cf. E, p. 212: "Reiser [Moritz] glaubte in einem jeden Meisterwerke, der Wirtschaft sowohl als der Kunst, müsse sich ein gewisser Punkt auffinden lassen"

³Düntzer and Herder, op. cit., pp. 203, 204. Cf., also Oskar Walzel's introduction to the Jubiläums-Ausgabe of Goethes sämtliche Werke (Stuttgart und Berlin: J. G. Cotta), XXXVI, xlii.

⁴Eybisch, op. cit., pp. 157, 232, 236. Cf. O. Harnack (ed.), Zur Nachgeschichte der italienischen Reise (Weimar: Goethe-Gesellschaft, 1890), p. 35. Maximilian von Verschaffeldt (1754-1818) was a painter and architect. Born in Mannheim, he spent most of his life in Rome. After 1793 he lived in Munich and Vienna. Goethe also received instruction from Verschaffeldt on perspective.

understanding of the fine arts, and was indispensable to the education of young artists and other students at the academy.¹ Moritz betrays his fascination for the subject throughout the entire essay "Die metaphysische Schönheitslinie" in the Launen und Phantasien. The reader is particularly referred to a passage in that essay where the application of perspective to art is carried to such an extreme that the creative process is described as though it were a geometric problem. The totality is likened to an immense, immeasurable circle composed of an infinite number of curved lines. The human being, because of the limited scope of his perceptive powers, does not see the great circle nor its curvilinear parts. He sees only a very small section of the circle--accordingly only a small part of the curved lines which consequently appear as straight and endless. The straight lines represent immediate reality and Moritz calls them "truth lines" ("Wahrheitslinien"). Where they end no mortal can tell, but everyone has a vague feeling that they must and do end at some point. The artist in transforming immediate reality into a totality, converts these "truth lines" into so-called "beauty lines" ("Schönheitslinien"); that is to say, he causes them to appear as curved lines. He creates after the pattern of the great circle a miniature totality, which has its own point of centralization into which all the component parts converge.

Moritz, according to Klischnig² and Caroline Herder,³ had discussed the focal point or idea of a point of centralization with Goethe. The latter apparently acknowledged the validity of the theory and encouraged Moritz to develop it and to make something out of it.⁴ That Goethe could have agreed on this matter one might well have expected, for he himself was at the time not far distant from Moritz in his aesthetic thinking. In Strasbourg the Sturm und Drang Goethe had vehemently decried the mechanical unities of the French theater and lauded the Shakespearean historical tragedies.

¹"Entwurf zu dem vollständigen Vortrage einer Theorie der schönen Künste, für Zöglinge einer Akademie der Künste." (Eybisch, op. cit., p. 242.)

²E, p. 214.

³Düntzer and Herder, op. cit., p. 204.

⁴E, p. 214.

Seine [Shakespeares] Plane sind, nach dem gemeinen Styl zu reden, keine Plane, aber seine Stücke drehen sich alle um den geheimen Punkt/: den noch kein Philosoph gesehen und betimmt hat:/ in dem das Eigenthümliche unsres Ich's, die prätendirte Freyheit unsres Willens, mit dem nothwendigen Gang des Ganzen zusammenstösst.¹

As yet there is only a faint suggestion of an organic unity and a bare intimation of a focal point. Nor does one detect a very close relationship and analogy between art and nature. However, in Goethe's next essay of literary significance, "Von deutscher Baukunst," there is a definite step in the direction of these ideas. There is a familiar note in such a statement as: "Schädlicher als Beispiele sind dem Genius Principien. Vor ihm mögen einzelne Menschen einzelne Theile bearbeitet haben. Er ist der erste, aus dessen Seele die Theile, in Ein ewiges Ganzes zusammen gewachsen, hervortreten."² Admiring the Gothic cathedral at Strasbourg erected by the genius of E. Steinbach, he bursts into eloquent raptures over the harmony of this massive structure. Especially significant is the attempt to compare the cathedral with the objects created by nature.

Wie frisch leuchtet' er [der Dom] im Morgenduftglanz mir entgegen, wie froh konnt' ich ihm meine Arme entgegen strecken, schauen die grossen harmonischen Massen, zu unzählig kleinen Theilen belebt: wie in Werken der ewigen Natur, bis aufs geringste Zäserchen, alles Gestalt, und alles zweckend zum Ganzen.³

The words "alles Gestalt, und alles zweckend zum Ganzen" suggest Moritz' principle of "innere Zweckmässigkeit." A closer resemblance to this principle appears in the brief item which Goethe wrote in 1775 in the form of an appendix to Mercier's and Wagner's Neuer Versuch über die Schauspielkunst. Goethe once again rejects all form in art which is not intrinsic but which is imposed from without according to prescribed laws or rules. There is, he maintains, an inner form which differs from the outer form just as the inner sense differs from the outer. But Goethe does not identify inner form of art with the inner form of the totality of nature as Moritz does. He does, however, and this is where we find the closest analogy to Moritz, liken inner form to a concave glass by means of which all the "holy" rays of nature are concentrated into a central point ("Feuerblick"). He implies that the work of art repre-

¹WA, XXXVII, 133.

²Ibid., p. 142.

³Ibid., pp. 146-147.

sents a miniature image of nature. Moritz, it will be remembered, had referred similarly to the rays of the totality or of the highest beauty which are brought to a focal point ("Brennpunkt") and spoke of the work of art as "ein Abbild der Natur" on a reduced scale. If, as Walzel contends on the strength of Dilthey's findings, Goethe was indebted to Shaftesbury for the formation of his early aesthetic ideas,¹ then it is also possible that he had become acquainted with the principle of a "self-contained totality" ("ein in sich selbst vollendetes Ganzes").² The fact remains, however, that Goethe prior to 1788 had never stated it explicitly in any of his writings. Nevertheless, he sanctioned the principle as stated by Moritz in the essays of 1785 and 1788 and made use of it later in his own writings. Goethe also continued to uphold the principle of "inner form." In a review published in the Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur Zeitung (1804), he expressed the view that true poetic genius is complete in itself. Its language may contain imperfections, and the outer technique may be faulty, yet it may possess an "inner form." "Das lebhaft poetische Anschauen eines beschränkten Zustandes erhebt ein Einzelnes zum zwar begränzten, doch unumschränkten All, so dass wir im kleinen Raume die ganze Welt zu sehen glauben."³ Thus Goethe's thoughts on art were directed along very much the same line as those of Karl Philipp Moritz.⁴

In summarizing the creative process as it has been presented in the foregoing pages, we find that the first essential is a quiet contemplation of nature, whereby the creative artist can become aware of the harmony of the highest beauty. The preliminary stage of the creative process culminates in a mystical union of the soul of genius with the soul of the totality. Once true genius has experienced the totality, he must of necessity transfer the essence of his experience into some tangible form, that is, into a perfected work of art. His chief goal in the externalization of this experience is to give his work the appear-

¹Oskar Walzel, Introduction to the Jubiläums-Ausgabe of Goethes sämtliche Werke (Stuttgart und Berlin: J. G. Cotta), Vol. XXXVI.

²Cf. above, p. 5, n. 4.

³WA, XL, 356.

⁴For a more complete account of the details given above concerning the relationship of Goethe's ideas to those of Moritz see Walzel, op. cit.

ance of inner perfection so that, like the whole of nature, it will represent a self-contained totality. This he can accomplish only if his work of art has within itself a point of centralization and an organic unity.¹

The Artist and Reality

In the Bildende Nachahmung, Moritz departs from the conventional interpretation of the word "Nachahmung" and gives it the connotation of "rivalry" and "emulation." Nonetheless, he assumes that the artist must draw his material from reality. To what extent, we ask, does Moritz permit his artist to deviate from reality? That the artist can and must, follows of necessity from the very nature of his objective, which is to represent beauty. Reality, we have learned, is not beauty. It is rather the coarse raw material out of which beauty evolves. In the Bildende Nachahmung, there is only one example. It is not cited by Moritz with the express purpose of demonstrating the extent to which the artist is bound to truth of fact or reality, for this question is not considered in the essay.

It is intended to illustrate the difference between aesthetic imitation and ethical imitation. Still, the example gives indirectly an answer to the problem under discussion, and can appropriately serve as a point of departure. In distinguishing between the two aforementioned types of imitation, Moritz writes:

In so fern nun unter dem Edlen, im Gegensatz gegen das
Hussre Schöne, bloss die innre Seelenschönheit verstanden

¹ Moritz did not always succeed in establishing the central point in a work of art and he encountered difficulty in the effort to determine it in his own writings. Caroline Herder (Düntzer and Herder, op. cit., pp. 203-204) tells how Moritz in one of their discussions together had found the central point in Egmont in the scene where Clärchen kneels before Egmont and asks: "Bist Du der Egmont etc." Egmont replies: "Nein, der Egmont bin ich nicht etc., Dein Egmont bin ich." Clärchen overcome says: "So lass mich sterben! die Welt hat keine Freude auf diese." This is regarded by Moritz as the climax of the drama, for Egmont's death as well as the voluntary death of Clärchen depend on this scene. The central point of Werther is in the letter of Book I dated August 18. Caroline Herder quotes the line "Hätte ich Flügel eines Kranichs etc. ..." which in the later editions of Werther actually reads "Ach damals, wie oft habe ich mich mit Fittigen eines Kranichs etc. ..." (Cf. WA, XIX, 75.) K. Fr. Klischnig refers to the same letter as Caroline but quotes the words: "Es hat sich vor meiner Seele wie ein Vorhang weggezogen. ..." (E, p. 213.) Moritz also applied the principle of a central point to the dramas Clavigo and Götz von Berlichingen.

wird, können wir es auch, sowie das Gute, in uns selbst nachbilden. Das Schöne aber, in so fern es sich dadurch vom Edlen unterscheidet, dass, im Gegensatz gegen das Innre, bloss das Äussre Schöne darunter verstanden wird, kann durch die Nachahmung nicht in uns herein, sondern muss, wenn es von uns nachgeahmt werden soll, nothwendig wieder aus uns herausgebildet werden.¹

For example, the plastic artist can, if he feels so inclined, strive to attain within himself the quality of nobility which he perceives in a person. The endeavor to attain this quality and the final acquisition Moritz would term ethical imitation. If now the artist feels impelled to imitate this same quality in so far as it is reflected in the facial characteristics of the model, then he must needs develop his conception of the quality from out of his own being and try to represent it in a form outside of himself. He does this not by copying the features in detail, and it is this remark which for the present is of paramount significance, but by employing them only as aids, in other words, by using only as many of them as are absolutely essential to give adequate expression to the quality of nobility. We may infer, and this will be substantiated by the remarks which follow, that this principle is also applicable to the highest type of aesthetic imitation. The artist, after he has experienced within himself a totality--the harmony in nature--and feels compelled to create, takes only so much from reality as he deems necessary to represent the highest beauty. The artist copies reality selectively and in accordance with the requirements of his objective. For other relevant information on this subject, we turn again to the essay, "Die metaphysische Schönheitslinie." Here it is explicitly stated that the component parts of a work of art are to be taken from nature and therefore must be true and realistic. But the beauty of the completed object does not rest in its individual parts; it rests in the synthesis of the parts. Only so much is taken from reality as can be woven into a complete whole. To copy reality minutely would, to be sure, be a representation of actual truth, but truth or immediate reality would not result in beauty rather in an image of seemingly endless chaos. The artist does not pattern his work after reality, which is only a part of nature, but after the totality or the whole of nature. "Das

¹BN, p. 6, l. 30 - p. 7, l. 2.

gehörige weglassen ist also eigentlich das wahre Wesen der Kunst, die mehr negativ, als positiv zu Werke gehen muss, wenn sie gefallen soll. Wie jener grosse Zeichner von sich sagte; er habe einen schönen Kopf mehr durch Auslöschen als durch Zeichnen hervorgebracht."¹ A fundamental problem of the artist is the omission of all that is irrelevant. He creates an artistic reality out of non-artistic reality. But the more imperceptible the deviations from the latter the more perfect the work of art. Hence, Moritz advises that the artist be subtle in his deviations from truth if he is to enlist the credulity of the recipient. "Zu jeder weitem Abweichung von der Wahrheit, und zu jeder Ineinanderneigung der Begebenheiten, muss uns der Dichter erst durch eine weniger gewagte, und weniger merkliche vorbereiten, worauf wir unsern Glauben gleichsam stützen können."²

In any event greater stress is placed on inner truth than on outer truth. Even though a photographic reproduction of reality is barred, this does not mean that Moritz would advocate the principle of elimination to the extent that the finished product would result in a bare outline. The greater the fullness or the more that can be taken from reality and fitted organically into an independent whole, the more nearly the work of art will approximate the ideal beauty. "Das Schöne [sey] um desto schöner, je mehr das Grosse uns umgebende Ganze sich darinn zusammendrängt, und spiegelt."³

¹LP, p. 183.

²Ibid., p. 175. Cf. also the passages cited above on pp. 34-35. The opinion that the artist is at liberty to depart from truth in order to achieve a higher purpose reminds one of Lessing. (Cf. Lessings sämtliche Schriften, ed. Karl Lachmann [3d ed.; Stuttgart: G. J. Göschen, 1886-1924], IX, 227.) The dramatic poet, according to Lessing, is no historian. He does not describe what has happened or what is believed to have happened. He reconstructs the course of events before our eyes not merely for the sake of historical truth, but for a higher purpose. There is, to be sure, a distinct difference in the use of the term "purpose." Lessing, despite his trenchant diatribes against some of the static precepts of rationalistic aesthetics, was far from being averse to a teleological appreciation of art. Although he, too, saw in art a miniature representation of the totality (ibid., X, 82-83) he was far more concerned with the effect of tragedy, i.e., the awakening of pity in the audience. Moritz restricts the usage of the term "purpose" to a matter of form and conceives of it as resting within the work of art.

³Eybisch, op. cit., p. 241.

The genuine artist steers, so to speak, a middle course. He is neither a slavish imitator, nor a fantastic visionary who gives free reign to his vagaries. His creative activity is guided and held in check by eternal laws. In the Reisen eines Deutschen in Italien, Moritz distinguishes between the so-called "mania for imitation" ("Nachahmungssucht") and the "mania for originality" ("Originalsucht").¹ "Die Nachahmungssucht hascht, statt des wesentlichen Schönen nur nach der fremden Individualität; die Originalsucht schliesst mit der fremden Individualität zugleich eigensinnigerweise das wirkliche allgemeine Schöne aus, welches unzertrennlich damit verknüpft ist."² The term "imitation" is used in this passage in the customary sense of "copying" but not copying of reality or nature, but copying of another person's work. In the center preserving the aurea mediocritas stands the "noble, emulating" type of imitation ("der edle wetteifernde Nachahmungstrieb"), which strives to create a representation of universal beauty. In this same work Moritz introduces a thought which unquestionably owes its origin to Goethe. "Beim Angelo," he writes, "herrscht in gewissem Sinne mehr eine grosse Manier, als ein grosser Styl."³ The terms "Manier" and "Styl" betray their origin. Goethe had published in Wieland's Merkur (1789) the essay "Einfache Nachahmung, Manier, Stil."⁴ "Styl," according to Moritz, refers to that fixed and lasting quality of a genuine work of art by virtue of which it is elevated above originality. "Manier" has reference to that quality in a work of art which reveals the individuality of its creator. "Styl" designates the intrinsic beauty in art itself, whereas "Manier" designates the peculiar manner and style of the originator. "Im antiken Styl heisst also nach den ächten Grundsätzen des Schönen bear-

¹Reisen eines Deutschen in Italien in den Jahren 1786 bis 1788 (Berlin: Friedrich Maurer, 1793), III, 105 ff., 212 ff.

²Ibid., p. 105.

³Ibid., p. 7.

⁴Moritz does not use the term "Manier" in the Bildende Nachahmung. In one instance the word "Styl" does occur but not in the meaning in which it is used here. In 1793 Moritz wrote: "... Man denkt sich doch unter Styl das Eigenthümliche, woran man die Schreibart eines Jeden wieder erkennt, und wodurch sie eigentlich erst zur Schreibart wird." (Vorlesungen über den Styl, p. 4.) Thus the particular interpretation of the term "Styl" in the Reisen eines Deutschen in Italien in den Jahren 1786 bis 1788 is not consistently used by Moritz.

beitet, wo eigentlich keine Originalität mehr Statt findet."¹ The thought is not carried out any further, and Moritz does not condemn the works of Michel Angelo, despite the fact that he does attribute to them a preponderance of "Manier." There is no mistake, however, as to his preference. "Styl" is definitely superior to "Manier," and it is the factor which distinguishes genuine art from inferior art.

The artist imitates and rivals divine creative nature in that he strives to produce a whole complete in itself. It is the totality of nature which serves him as an ideal for imitation. Immediate reality provides him only with the stuff for his creation. The material which is extracted from reality is reworked deftly into an intricate pattern of apparent perfection which reflects the harmonious interrelationship of the entirety of nature.

The True Creative Artist versus the False Creative Artist

Thus far the creative artist has been discussed with respect to his inherent faculties and the nature of his activity. It will now be shown how Moritz distinguishes the true artist from the false artist.

In the *Bildende Nachahmung*, Moritz draws a fine line of distinction between persons who possess genuine creative power ("Bildungskraft") and those who must content themselves with mere receptive power ("Empfindungskraft"). The first distinction that he makes is one immediately connected with the conception of beauty. The highest enjoyment of beauty, he asserts, is reserved for the creative artist who not only experiences the highest beauty, that is, in a limited degree, but also feels the urge to represent and recreate it by virtue of his own ability.

Da nun aber jene grossen Verhältnisse, in deren völligen Umfange eben das Schöne liegt, nicht mehr unter das Gebiet der Denkkraft fallen; so kann auch der lebendige Begriff von der bildenden Nachahmung des Schönen, nur im Gefühl der thätigen Kraft, die es hervorbringt, im ersten Augenblick der Entstehung statt finden, wo das Werk, als schon vollendet, durch alle Grade seines allmählichen Werdens, in dunkler Ahndung, auf einmal vor die Seele tritt, und in diesem Moment der ersten Erzeugung gleichsam vor seinem wirklichen Daseyn, da ist; wodurch alsdann auch jener unnennbare Reiz entsteht, welcher das schaffende Genie zur immerwährenden Bildung treibt.²

¹Reisen eines Deutschen in Italien in den Jahren 1786 bis 1788, III, 7.

²BN, p. 18, l. 34-p. 19, l. 8.

And in the paragraph following he makes the conclusive statement: "--So bleibt der einzige höchste Genuss desselben immer dem schaffenden Genie, das es hervorbringt, selber."¹ The enjoyment of the person who merely can appreciate art, once it has been produced, is consequently an after-enjoyment ("ein Nachgenuss") contingent upon the actual existence of the completed work of art.

But it is the desire to experience the highest enjoyment that often forces people to try to create even though they do not have the ability. A person who does not possess such a highly developed and sensitive organism as that of the artist cannot create, for he is unable to absorb the totality of nature to the extent necessary for creation.

Wenn nämlich das Organ nicht fein genug gewebt ist, um dem einströmenden Ganzen der Natur so viele Berührungspunkte darzubieten, als nötig sind, um alle ihre grossen Verhältnisse vollständig im Kleinen abzuspiegeln, und uns noch ein Punkt zum völligen Schluss des Zirkels fehlt; so können wir statt der Bildungskraft nur Empfindungsfähigkeit für das Schöne, haben.²

The border between creative genius and mere receptivity is a very narrow one and might easily be overstepped. Hence, it is not surprising that there is a preponderance of false images of the highest beauty. Genuine beauty in art is rare. The ratio between false images of nature and genuine ones is approximately a thousand to one. The closer that receptive power borders on creative power, the more it is apt to mistake itself for creative ability.

Je vollkommener das Empfindungsvermögen für eine gewisse Gattung des Schönen ist, um desto mehr ist es in Gefahr sich zu täuschen, sich selbst für Bildungskraft zu nehmen, und auf die Weise durch tausend misslungne Versuche, seinen Frieden mit sich selbst zu stören.³

At this point Moritz describes the plight of the extremely sensitive being who in observing a work of art has been able to penetrate the essence of beauty and at the same time to experience the creative power which produced it. He strives somehow to create and to reproduce that which he has experienced. But every attempt proves futile with the result that he not only discards what he himself tried to produce, but he even ceases to take pleas-

¹Ibid., p. 19, ll. 15-17.

²Ibid., p. 20, ll. 25-31.

³Ibid., p. 21, ll. 18-22.

ure in all other beauty in art--primarily, because it exists without any participation on his part.

Why is such a person unable to succeed in his efforts? Because the urge to create is prompted not by the desire to reproduce beauty for its own sake but in order to partake of the highest enjoyment--namely, "creating." It is the result of a conscious effort to produce something, simply in order to be able to claim for himself creative faculty.

Ihr [der Empfindungskraft] einziger Wunsch und Streben ist, des ihr versagten, höhern Genusses, den sie nur dunkel ahndet, theilhaftig zu werden: in einem schönen Werke, das ihr sein Daseyn dankt, mit dem Bewusstseyn von eigener Bildungskraft, sich selbst zu spiegeln.--¹

But this wish, Moritz continues, can never be granted because it is the result of self-interest.

Allein sie [Empfindungskraft] wird ihres Wunsches ewig nicht gewährt, weil Eigennutz ihn erzeugte; und das Schöne sich nur um sein selbstwillen von der Hand des Künstlers greifen, und willig und folgsam von ihm sich bilden lässt.²

The true artist creates for the sake of creating and for the sake of reproducing the highest beauty in nature irrespective of the pleasure which he is to derive from it. In addition he is not concerned about the pleasure which his work will afford others once it has been completed. The after-pleasure of the recipient, Moritz asserts, is a natural result of the completed work of art.³ This point is especially stressed in the final pages of the "Versuch einer Vereinigung aller schönen Künste und Wissenschaften unter dem Begriff des in sich selbst Vollendeten."⁴ Here it is stated that the artist does not create in order to gain applause or approval ("Beifall"). It is indeed commendable to hope for the approval of the noblest minds, but this should not be set up as the highest objective. "Auch der schönste Beifall," writes Moritz expressing an idea which once had been voiced by Lessing, "will nicht erjagt, sondern nur auf dem Wege mitgenommen sein."⁵ A direct pursuit of approval is a certain means of failing to ob-

¹Ibid., p. 22, ll. 1-5.

²Ibid., p. 22, ll. 6-9.

³V, p. 42, ll. 33-34.

⁴Ibid., pp. 42 ff.

⁵Ibid., p. 43, ll. 23-24. Cf. Lessings sämtliche Schriften, XII, 294. "Das Vergnügen einer Jagd ist ja allezeit mehr werth, als der Fang."

tain it. Thus the artist is advised:

Die Vollkommenheit deines Werks fülle während der Arbeit deine ganze Seele, und stelle selbst den süssesten Gedanken des Ruhmes in Schatten, dass dieser nur zuweilen hervortrete, dich aufs neue zu beleben, wenn dein Geist anfängt, lass zu werden; dann wirst du ungesucht erhalten, wornach Tausende sich vergeblich bemühen. Ist aber die Vorstellung des Beifalls dein Hauptgedanke, und ist dir dein Werk nur in so fern werth, als es dir Ruhm verschafft; so thu Verzicht auf den Beifall der Edlen. Du arbeitest nach einer eigennützigen Richtung: der Brennpunkt des Werks wird ausser dem Werke fallen, du bringst es nicht um sein selbst willen, und also auch nichts Ganzes, in sich Vollendetes, hervor. Du wirst falschen Schimmer suchen, der vielleicht eine Zeitlang das Auge des Pöbels blendet, aber vor dem Blick des Weisen wie Nebel verschwindet.¹

If the artist has succeeded in the real purpose of his creativity, pleasure and approval will come of themselves. This discussion is concluded in the form of an allegorical comparison in which the position of the recipient is likened to that of a mirror. It is as fallacious to say that a work of art is produced in order to arouse pleasure as it is to say that it is composed in order that it will bring forth a reflection when it is posed before a mirror. The reflection will be produced even though the artist had given it no consideration during the process of creating. If the mirror is of the kind which casts a distorted reflection, then this should not serve as a provocation for the artist to try to lessen the perfection of his work for the sake of enhancing its representation in the mirror. In other words, the artist should not cater to the taste of the recipient but strive for the utmost perfection in his work.

Caroline Herder had repeated Moritz as saying: "Nie müsse ein Dichter auf Effecte arbeiten; nur das ganze und nicht zerstückelte Geschöpf, das er jetzt hervorbringen will, muss seine Seele erfüllen."²

The fact is also stressed in the Bildende Nachahmung that the true creative artist is not content to look for the highest beauty in an already perfected work of art. For this, after all, is merely an image of the highest beauty. Instead he seeks to perceive the totality for himself and directly from nature. Still, the perfected work of art is not entirely useless to the

¹V., p. 43, l. 24-p. 44, l. 2.

²Düntzer and Herder, op. cit., p. 199.

creative artist. By perceiving the image of the highest beauty in the most perfect work of art, the creative urge receives the first impulse to become operative. It instills the potential artist with the feeling that it is possible for him to comprehend creatively--"das ... was keine Empfindung auffasst, wofür das Selbstgefühl zu beschränkt ist, und die Ichheit keinen Raum hat."¹

On the other hand, Moritz is careful to say that every unsuccessful attempt to create a work of art does not necessarily indicate a lack of creative power. There might have been a failure because the proper channel for expression was not taken. Often, too, creative genius has not been permitted to attain the highest possible development of its faculties.

Why must creative genius go awry? Why is it not allowed to develop? It is because nature wills it so, and to dispute the justice or injustice of her dicta would be in vain, for, as Moritz asserts in another connection, "nature destroys only where she must, and spares wherever she can."²

This is the reason that true beauty in art is rare--as is also successfully productive creative genius. Even among the chosen few who are endowed with the requisite faculties and attributes, there is a higher selection. "Eben weil die Natur die inwohnende Bildungskraft nicht immer zur völligen Reife und Entwicklung kommen oder sie einen falschen Weg einschlagen lässt, auf dem sie sich nie entwickeln kann; so bleibt das ächte schöne selten."³

The Training of the Artist

As yet nothing has been said concerning the training of the artist--a problem which is understandably of vital interest in any treatise on aesthetics and one which undoubtedly had occupied the thoughts of Karl Philipp Moritz. The creative artist is portrayed in the Bildende Nachahmung as the chosen protégé of nature, whose course in life has been long predestined. He is that enviable soul who has been endowed with a rare insight into her beauty and perfection and with the precious gift of creative force by means of which he can produce an image of the highest beauty. In order to prevent any misconception, the fact should

¹BN, p. 27, ll. 27-30. ²Ibid., p. 26, ll. 3-4.

³Ibid., p. 23, ll. 29-32.

be stressed again that the artist in possessing these talents is not designated as an equal competitor of nature. Because of his genius he may try to rival her and to fathom her mystery, but the final outcome of his activity can never be the real thing; it will always be an illusory approximation--"ein Blendwerk."¹ Furthermore, the artist's creative power emanates from that very source which he strives to emulate. In other words, the artist's creation is regarded as an indirect creation of nature herself, who alone is sovereign. Only nature will reveal to creative genius her hallowed magnificence; she is the artist's guide and mentor: "Sie allein führt an ihrer Hand den bildenden Künstler, den Dichter, in ihr innerstes Heiligthum, wo sie dem sich neu entwickelnden Bildungstriebe, schon seit Jahrhunderten vorgearbeitet, und seine Bahn ihm vorgezeichnet hat."²

Nothing more is said in the Bildende Nachahmung concerning the preliminary training which is needed for artistic creativity, excepting of course the emphasis on the necessity for quiet contemplation of nature.³ The artist is simply conceived of as a product of nature who exists solely and exclusively in order to accomplish his foreordained purpose.

Shortly after the publication of the Bildende Nachahmung, Moritz assumed his duties as professor at the academy of arts in Berlin. Needless to say, the students in this institution were for the most part youthful aspirants in the plastic arts. Naturally, Moritz could not go on preaching the sermon that the artist was the cherished protégé of nature, whose genius would burst forth of itself as soon as his abilities had attained their maturity. Such was the genius described in the Bildende Nachahmung, but such a genius is to be found in only one out of every thousand. He was confronted with the task of devising a lecture program which could be of practical value to all potential artists. The lecture series which was finally outlined was entitled "Entwurf zu dem vollständigen Vortrage einer Theorie der schönen Künste für Zöglinge einer Akademie der Künste" and dated Berlin,

¹Ibid., p. 15, ll. 24-25. Cf. also Düntzer and Herder, *op. cit.*, p. 230. Caroline Herder writes: "Des Menschen höchste Kunst ist doch nur ein Abglanz von dem All der Natur, wie Moritz sagt; das All der Natur selbst ist ja doch mehr.--"

²BN, p. 26, ll. 24-27.

³See above, pp. 26 ff.

the fifth of February.¹ It is composed of three paragraphs, all of which pertain to the development of a conception of beauty. In the first paragraph, he maintains that it does not suffice that an artist be able to apprehend the value of beauty by means of the imagination, but he must also be given as far as possible a theoretical understanding of beauty. Next, it is advised that young artists become acquainted with all the great and beautiful artistic creations of the past. The cultural past should be presented to the imagination so vividly that the students are inspired to create great and genuine works of their own. It is worth noting that when Moritz stresses the value of studying the most perfect art of the past, he has reference to the masterpieces of classical antiquity. He expresses the firm conviction that these works cannot be fully appreciated without an acquaintance with Roman history, mythology, and the antiquities. Lastly, it is proposed that artists be given a study of perspective, a study which is deemed indispensable to an understanding of the fine arts. Allied to perspective is the study of fine architecture and practical geometry ("Messkunst"), both of which are regarded as prerequisites to instruction in perspective and as useful in the clarification of the conception of beauty.

There is no indication in the outline as to the manner in which it was to be carried out. Consequently, one is hardly justified in speaking either for or against the outline. It is highly probable that certain details which are given prominence here were lightly treated in the lectures. It can be said, however, that the outline in the main does not contradict whatever has been said above. Somewhat disturbing is the remark that the artist who is trained according to the specifications of this outline can by the production of an original work of art exercise an influence over the generations of his day and help to establish good taste. Considering the remarks in the Bildende Nachahmung, this is a very odd statement for Moritz to make. But if one bears in mind the fact that the outline was intended for students in Berlin, where enlightened Rationalism had not yet released its hold on aesthetics, one can detect an attempt on the one hand to effect a compromise with prevailing thought, and on the other hand an effort to promote a new aesthetic standard which

¹Eybisch, op. cit., pp. 241-242.

had found substantiation while Moritz was in Italy and in Weimar. The employment of such terms as "good taste" and "effect" in the outline are not necessarily an indication of a relapse into or a re-acceptance of tenets of rationalistic aesthetics. They are used with distinct reservation and not in a sense which confutes the opinions expressed in the Bildende Nachahmung. It is also conspicuous that not even a single word is said with respect to the value of studying nature. It is possible to infer that this is taken care of in part by the stipulation that potential artists be given a thorough background in the history of culture and art. Such a postulation would not be entirely wrong, for Moritz was of the opinion that all art and development, once it came to pass, assumed its place in the great totality of nature.¹ In view of the significant place of nature in Moritz' conception of beauty in art there is the further probability that in the lectures themselves the importance of nature found its way into the foreground. Be that as it may, the outline was written in 1789 and after that time articles were published by Moritz which still emphasized the value of nature in artistic creativity.²

In concluding this chapter, let us comment briefly on the development of aesthetics in the eighteenth century. It is not difficult to see the distinguishing feature in Moritz' approach to the aesthetic problem. In the very early writings of the century, the aesthetic problem was approached mostly from the point of view of the recipient or the one who was to derive instruction and pleasure from a work of art. The genius was regarded as something of secondary importance. When the question of the artist was taken up, it was generally in reply to the query: by what means does the artist succeed in reaching the person for whom his production is intended? Moritz, in establishing for himself the idea that beauty in art represents a whole complete in itself, eliminated the dependence of art on the recipient. He approached his problem from the opposite side. He viewed it first from the point of view of its origin; penetrated with keen psychological insight the soul of creative genius, followed up the formation of a work of art as it was conceived and produced by the artist, and

¹BN, p. 26, ll. 28-35.

²Cf. the two essays mentioned earlier, "Ueber ein Gemählde von Göthe" and "Der Dichter im Tempel der Natur."

only then did he turn his attention to the recipient.

Moritz' approach was not intended to be and furthermore did not need to be a revolutionary one. The way had been paved for him to a certain extent by Mendelssohn and Lessing and in particular by Herder and the aesthetic anarchism of the Sturm und Drang movement, which had emancipated the spirit of original genius and liberated it from the shackles of pseudo-classic formalism.¹

The main characteristics and attributes of Moritz' conception of the artist may be summarized briefly in the following points:

1. Only he who can successfully produce a representation of the highest beauty in nature can be classified as a true artist.
2. This representation or the work of art must appear as a self-contained whole, which can be perceived by the senses or the faculty of imagination.
3. He who can create such an object of artistic beauty is endowed by nature with (a) a high degree of sensitivity to the surrounding totality ("Empfindungskraft"), and (b) genuine creative power ("Bildungskraft").
4. Both of these attributes have their foundation in the so-called energetic faculty ("Tatkraft"), the scope of which in the real artist is as wide as that of nature.
5. The artist exists first of all for his own sake, i.e., for the development of his inherent faculties, and for the ultimate production of a work of art. He is utterly oblivious of his function as mediator, i.e., as the person through whom nature reveals her absolute harmony.
6. The successful creative artist is an exceedingly rare

¹Hermann Wolf, Versuch einer Geschichte des Geniebegriffs in der deutschen Aesthetik des 18. Jahrhunderts (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1923). Wolf gives a survey of the conception of genius (a) as it developed in eighteenth-century English aesthetics, (b) in eighteenth-century French aesthetics, and (c) as it developed in Germany from Gottsched through Sulzer. A second volume was intended which was to begin with Lessing and continue up to the period of Romanticism. Nothing came of this intention. J. G. Robertson, who considers the term "genius" as it was understood and interpreted by Lessing, remarks that an adequate history of the word 'genius' has not been written." (Lessing's Dramatic Theory [Cambridge: At the University Press, 1939], p. 449.) Herder's conception of poetic genius has been treated somewhat briefly and only as far as the year 1784 by Emilie Lutz in a dissertation entitled Herders Anschauungen vom Wesen des Dichters und der Dichtkunst in der ersten Hälfte seines Schaffens (Erlangen: Karl Böres, 1925). R. Sommer whose chief interest is psychology believes that the creative ability of genius came into the foreground of aesthetics under the influence of Leibniz' philosophy, especially the Monadology (1714) and the Nouveau Essais sur l'Entendement Humain. (Grundzüge einer Geschichte der deutschen Psychologie und Aesthetik [Würzburg: Stahel, 1892], p. 168.)

phenomenon whose development rests entirely in the hands of nature. Of the small minority endowed with the qualities of potential genius, only that person will be entitled to partake of the highest enjoyment of beauty, viz., the creation of a work of art, who has been predestined by nature and under her guidance to attain the fullest development of his abilities.

7. True creative genius does not create for the sake of (a) partaking of the highest enjoyment, (b) for the sake of a recipient, (c) for the sake of public acclaim and personal attainment, but only for the sake of producing an object of aesthetic perfection.

This definition of the artist has a firm footing in personal experience. Early in life Moritz had entertained the hope of attaining the heights of artistic genius. The happy faculty of self-analysis and self-observation, however, enabled him to realize soon enough the futility of his aspirations. In the following chapter an effort will be made to demonstrate the extent to which Moritz' conception of the artist is founded in experience.

CHAPTER. IV

MORITZ' CONCEPTION OF THE ARTIST AS RELATED TO HIS PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

Karl Philipp Moritz could never claim for himself all of the attributes which were included in his conception of the artist. In his writings on aesthetics he had avoided a description of the so-called highest enjoyment of beauty, that is, that of creating a representation of the highest beauty, because he had implicitly resigned himself to the truth that this pleasure was forever to be denied him and was accessible only to real creative genius.

As a youth Moritz had ventured into the fields of acting and poetic writing, but in both he had encountered early rebuffs and continual disconcerting failures, so that eventually he was compelled to relinquish the hope of ever achieving success along either one of these lines. From his experiences, however, he had reaped the invaluable knowledge and information which enabled him to develop his conception of the artist and to give counsel to the youth of his times. His own story is told in Part IV of Anton Reiser. The following selection from the introduction states clearly the pedagogic intent of the author and the dominant theme in the narrative of this part of the novel.

Er [der vierte Theil] enthält eine getreue Darstellung von den mancherlei Arten von Selbsttäuschung, wozu ein missverständener Trieb zur Poesie und Schauspielkunst den Unerfahrenen verleitet hat.

Dieser Theil enthält auch einige vielleicht nicht unnütze und nicht unbedeutende Winke, für Lehrer und Erzieher sowohl, als für junge Leute, die ernsthaft genug sind, um sich selbst zu prüfen, durch welche Merkzeichen vorzüglich der falsche Kunsttrieb von dem wahren sich unterscheidet?

Man sieht aus dieser Geschichte, dass ein missverständener Kunsttrieb, der bloss die Neigung ohne den Beruf voraussetzt, eben so mächtig werden und eben die Erscheinungen hervorbringen kann, welche bei dem wirklichen Kunstgenie sich äussern, welches auch das Aeusserste erduldet, und alles aufopfert, um nur seinen Endzweck zu erreichen.¹

¹p. 339. All quotations from Anton Reiser are taken from the edition by Ludwig Geiger in the "Deutsche Literaturdenkmale des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts" (Heilbronn: Gebr. Henninger, 1886). Cited henceforth as AR.

The reasons for Anton Reiser's failure as an actor and a poet coincide with the comments on the false creative artist versus the true artist which appeared in the preceding chapter. Reiser had resolved to discontinue his studies at the Gymnasium at Hanover and to follow the invincible urge to find fame and recognition on the stage. Convinced that he was a talented and capable artist, he envisioned himself as the protagonist of the greatest dramas of his times and portrayed to his imagination in vivid splendor and unexcelled rhetoric the roles he would render, once he found himself on the boards confronted by admiring awe-inspired on-lookers. But as he approached the director of one troupe of players after another he received nothing but vague promises and discouragement, and finally complete disillusionment. Reiser was blind to the fact that the characters and scenes, the feelings and emotions which he dramatized to himself with such animation and intensity were alive only to his imagination. There they were doomed to remain, for he did not have the ability to give them an effective outward expression. The incentive which propelled him to look for a theatrical career was not an inherently artistic one. The fire of ambition was, unknown to him, stirred by a basically selfish desire to find compensation for the drab and unexciting existence of his boyhood. "Denn ihm lag mehr daran, die Scenen des Lebens in sich, als ausser sich darzustellen. Er wollte für sich das alles haben, was die Kunst zum Opfer fordert."¹ Reiser did not seek to perform for the sake of the art of acting; he wished to act in order to still his own want and to find personal contentment and felicity. Yet he had deceived himself into believing that the urge within him was the beckon of genius and he followed it zealously until it led him into an impasse of desolation. With sad and knowing retrospect the author recalls the trials of his youth as he remarks: "Hätte er damals das sichere Kennzeichen schon empfunden und gewusst, dass wer nicht über der Kunst sich selbst vergisst, zum Künstler nicht gebohren sey, wie manche vergebene Anstrengung, wie manchen verlohrnen Kummer hätte ihm dies erspart!"²

No less painful and agonizing were the endeavors to create verse or a work of poetic beauty. Anton Reiser had a vague pre-sentiment of the pleasure which the creation of beauty would in-

¹Ibid., p. 368.

²Ibid.

cite within him, but he was never capable of experiencing it completely. Repeated efforts which produced little more than failures darkened the world for him and life in general became a veritable torment. Moritz considers the sufferings which this lack of poetic genius entailed under the special rubric die Leiden der Poesie.¹

When Reiser was inspired to write poetry he was occasionally seized by a sensation of melancholia. "Er dachte sich ein Etwas, worin er sich selbst verlohrt, wogegen alles, was er je gehört, gelesen oder gedacht hatte, sich verlohrt, und dessen Daseyn, wenn es nun wirklich von ihm dargestellt wäre, ein bisher noch ungefühltes, unnennbares Vergnügen verursachen würde."² But this inexpressible pleasure, though he yearned to partake of it, was never to be accorded him. All that came forth in such moments were some faltering incoherent sounds. Soon the original sensation would subside and nothing had been accomplished, not even a few lines which might serve as the beginning of a poem.

What ailed Reiser? Why did his powers forsake him in the instant when he stood at the gate of poetic beauty? By way of reply to these questions the author admonishes his readers: "Die warnende Stimme kann nicht früh genug dem Jüngling zurufen, sein Innerstes zu prüfen, ob nicht der Wunsch bei ihm an die Stelle der Kraft tritt, und weil er diese Stelle nie ausfüllen kann, ein ewiges Unbehagen die Strafe verbotenen Genusses bleibt."³

Such was the case with Anton Reiser, who saddened many of the best hours of his youth in the vain striving to attain an ideal for which his faculties were not equipped. He had a feeling for beauty and poetry, but he did not have the ability and genius for original poetic expression.

That Reiser was no born artist is also indicated by the themes which he essayed to treat poetically. Like many a dilettante his attention was drawn generally to highly dramatic and exotic motifs and lofty subject matter such as the universe, God, anchorettical life, creation, and the like. These themes were enticing to the young aspirant, Moritz claimed, because in their remoteness they were of themselves poetic and thereby required less effort and ingenuity on the part of the writer. They were, so to speak, a kind of camouflage to conceal the lack of original

¹Ibid., p. 421.

²Ibid., p. 422.

³Ibid., p. 423.

genius. That which makes a theme poetic, asserts Moritz, must come from the depths of genius and should not be sought in the raw material from which beauty is to emerge.

Another revealing factor was the desire for approbation. Reiser was ever anxious as to the possible effect of his creative pursuits and he always dreamed of the commendation and esteem that they would bring him. Echoing a thought which has already been expressed in the preceding chapter Moritz writes:

... Der wahre Dichter und Künstler findet und hofft seine Belohnung nicht erst in dem Effekt, den sein Werk machen wird, sondern er findet in der Arbeit selbst Vergnügen, und würde dieselbe nicht für verloren halten, wenn sie auch niemanden zu Gesicht kommen sollte. Sein Werk zieht ihn unwillkürlich an sich, in ihm selber liegt die Kraft zu seinen Fortschritten, und die Ehre ist nur der Sporn, der ihn antreibt.¹

An eagerness for recognition may give inspiration for a grand and enterprising masterpiece, but it can never instil genuine creative ability, which is an innate rather than an acquired power and therefore potentially existent in true genius even before inspiration has rendered it operative.

To cite a typical example of Anton Reiser's futile creative endeavor, I shall describe briefly his unsuccessful efforts to compose a long poem on Genesis. We know from what has preceded the attitude of the author himself toward choosing a subject. He writes:

Er gieng schon lange mit einem Gedicht über die Schöpfung schwanger, wo der Stoff nun freilich der allerentfernteste war, den die Einbildungskraft sich denken konnte, und wo er statt des Detail, vor dem er sich scheute, lauter grosse Massen vor sich fand, deren Darstellung man denn für die eigentlich erhabene Poesie hält, und wozu die unberufenen jungen Dichter immer weit mehr Lust haben, als zu dem was dem Menschen nahe liegt; denn in diess letztere muss freilich ihr Genie die Erhabenheit erst hereintragen, welche sie in jenem schon vor sich zu finden glauben.²

The poem was to consist of several Cantos, replete with frightful images. However it brought nothing but mental anguish and vexation. "Sein Gedicht ... machte, dass er oft wieder in eine Art von Verzweiflung gerieth, wenn er Dinge ausdrücken wollte, die er zu fühlen glaubte, und die ihm doch über allen Ausdruck waren."³ As soon as he resolved to settle down to the actual writing his ambition was thwarted by the dearth of ideas

¹Ibid., p. 424.

²Ibid., p. 425.

³Ibid., p. 428.

which he found at his disposal. "Die Flügel sanken ihm, und er fühlte seine Seele wie gelähmt, da er nichts als eine weite Leere, eine schwarze Oede vor sich erblickte."¹ All that he hoped to write ended in smoke and scarcely a thought could find its way to the white sheet of paper which lay before him. At length, feeling thoroughly frustrated and disgusted with himself, he gave up the unavailing struggle and succumbed to a state of morbid lethargy.

Thus Moritz had incorporated into his novel one of the most significant phases of his life--his dream of becoming an artist. The poetry interspersed among the pages of the book, the schemes for great compositions and plays, which are mentioned within the course of the narrative are all samples of the author's own ambitious undertakings. The criticism of Reiser is simultaneously a criticism of Moritz himself and the poetic schemes which he had conceived.

The other experiences in the life of Moritz which contributed to the development of his conception of the artist was his acquaintance with the author of the Sorrows of Werther, namely, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe.² In him Karl Philipp Moritz had perceived true creative genius as it is represented in the Bildende Nachahmung--the creative genius who exists primarily for the creation of an image of the highest beauty, the genius who develops of himself, that is, spontaneously under the imperceptible guidance of divine nature. A touching and eloquent acknowledgment of a friend's talents and natural endowments is expressed in Moritz' fragment Die neue Cecilia.

Unsere³ Empfindungen an den Schönheiten der Natur und Kunst stimmten von unserer Kindheit an in einen Punkt zusam-

¹Ibid., p. 436.

²Cf. Sommer, op. cit., pp. 330, 332; Naef, op. cit., p. 108. Naef also treats briefly the significance of Moritz' personal experience in the development of the aesthetic ideas expressed in the Bildende Nachahmung.

³The fragment is written in the form of a series of letters. The letter in which the above quotation appears is written by Marchese Mario, who is in Rome, to Carlo Maratti, a painter in Cesa. These two people have been very dear friends since childhood. It cannot be stated with certainty that Moritz had in mind his friendship with Goethe as he composed the situation described by Marchese Mario. However the passage does illustrate quite appropriately Moritz' relationship to Goethe.

men, nur mit dem Unterschiede, dass Deine lebhaftere Empfindung immer zu dem Triebe nach der Darstellung überging, während dass die meinige sich mit dem ruhigen Genuss begnügte. Du strebtest, die Rose nachzubilden, an deren Gestalt und Duft ich mich ergötzte. Dein Genuss ging schon früh in Schaffen und Hervorbringen über; und ob ich gleich selber diesen Trieb nicht fühlte, so musste ich ihn an Dir doch lieben,¹ und fühlte mich dadurch unwiderstehlich an Dich angezogen.

This situation may have been entirely true and applicable at the time that Moritz met Goethe in Italy, but it must not be forgotten that in his youth Moritz was not always so quietly composed in the contemplation of beauty as the quotation leads one to believe. Klischnig remarks in the Erinnerungen: "Göthe war ihm [Moritz] das grösste Genie, und ein Lob, das dieser einem oder dem andern Werke von ihm beilegte, war ihm die höchste Belohnung."² All of the works of the illustrious "poet laureate" of Weimar he held up as faultless or at least as true creations of genius. He cherished a high regard for the Sorrows of Werther. In one instance he spoke of it as the one work of all contemporary literature which most approximated the dignity, simplicity and truth of Greek art. "Sein Stoff, der einzige und noch unbenutzte, der dem Homer nachgeschaffen und gleich gebildet, die einzige noch wahre mögliche Epopee unsrer Zeiten ward."³ Exaggerated as this statement may seem, it is understandable in the light of the times and of the significance which the novel bore in Moritz' life. Götz von Berlichingen he hailed in a manner reminiscent of a Stürmer und Dränger as the first original drama--

... wo alles Grosse, Edle und Schöne aus der Barberey der mittlern Zeiten, sich von dem Gröbern, Unedlen, und Gemeinen sondernd, und immer näher aneinander rückend, zuletzt ein täuschendes Ganze bildet, und auch ein heller Spiegel des grossen Lebens der Natur in allen Zweigen wird.⁴

A most elaborate commentary is lavished on Goethe's Torquato Tasso in a letter dated Berlin, June 6, 1789. Read at a time when he was at odds with the world, Moritz claims that the drama brought him peace of mind and cheered his mood. The commen-

¹Die neue Cecilia (Berlin: Johann Friedrich Unger, 1794), p. 32.

²E, p. 187.

³"Der Dichter im Tempel der Natur," op. cit., p. 73.

⁴Ibid.

tary continues:

Der Tasso ist nun einmal das höchste Geistige, die zarteste Menschheit, welche auch von der Sanftesten und weichsten Umgebung gedrückt, sich ihrer Auflösung nähert; welche den Schwerpunkt verlohren hat, der sie an die Wirklichkeit heftet, und daher auch erst in der Erscheinung ihre eigentliche Vollendung erreichen konnte. Die tragische Darstellung dieses Zarten, Geistigen, auf dem Punkte, wo es sich jammernd ablösst, und in sich selbst versinkt, ist gewiss das Höchste der Poesie, bei der freilich das Tiefste nicht minder Schön ist, sobald die Möglichkeit zu dem Höchsten einmal in der Seele daliegt.¹

It was the almost exclusive worship of Goethe's works and personality which had evoked some criticism and gossip amid members of the literary circle which had settled in Weimar. Herder had no doubt detected it in his first encounter with Moritz in Italy and the lengthy accounts which came from his wife Caroline in Weimar were quick to stir the fire of resentment.² For Schiller, too, the manner in which Moritz idolized Goethe proved at times repelling. There is indignation in the words:

Es scheint dass er [Moritz] keinen Dichter erkennt als Göthen und allenfalls noch einen. Herdern vielleicht; da doch Göthe (von Herdern mag ich gar nicht reden) bey diesen Forderungen sehr zu kurz kommen würde. ... Ich ärgere mich über jeden Sektengeist und Vergötterung anderer; aber an Moritz ist sie mir doppelt unausstehlich, weil er selbst ein vortreflicher Kopf ist.³

All in all, however, Schiller was favorably disposed towards Moritz and his abilities. Even though there may be a tinge of personal envy in the above quotation, it is a fact that Schiller's accusation is in great measure justified.⁴ Moritz did have an unfortunate propensity for carrying certain favorite ideas

¹Eybisch, op. cit., p. 248.

²Moritz left Rome in October, 1788, and went to Weimar on the invitation of Goethe, who had left Italy in April of the same year. In Weimar, he enjoyed six more weeks of Goethe's companionship and encouragement, and in addition to this, the attention of the whole Weimar circle. Herder who had stayed on in Italy was at first in complete agreement with the voluble praises which were bestowed on Moritz by Caroline Herder. Very shortly, however, as the breach between Herder and Goethe widened the former's attitude towards Moritz suffered a complete reversal.

³Fielitz, op. cit., p. 196.

⁴The details concerning the reaction of the Weimar circle towards Moritz and his writing, though not printed here, are contained more fully in the original dissertation.

to the extreme.¹ Having perceived in Goethe what he sincerely and rightfully believed to be true genius he proceeded to set up all his works, or at least all of those that he had occasion to mention in his own writings, as models of perfection. Whether or not Moritz himself had been aware of the reaction of his acquaintances to his relationship with Goethe, is difficult to state. Considering his general hypersensitivity to his surroundings, it would seem odd if he had not. Yet even if he had been aware of it, one thing is certain: it did not shake his confidence in the opinion he had of his friend. Goethe's personality loomed before him in an almost superhuman magnitude--like a god. Three years after Moritz died, his brother Johann Christian wrote to Jean Paul:

Dieser [Moritz] nannte ihn [Goethe] gegen Vertraute immer Gott; und zwar nicht ganz im Scherze; denn er fügte oft die ernstliche Bemerkung hinzu: „Es ist wahr, man kann sich nichts Höheres denken, als den Menschen selber, und wer sich als solcher so gleichsam über sich selbst erhebt, als Göthe, der ist Gott.“ ich [sic] wüsste überhaupt nicht, dass mein Bruder irgend Jemanden so ganz untadelhaft gefunden hätte, als seinen Göthe.²

Herder, too, in his correspondence with Caroline had referred to this same god-like veneration of the bard of Weimar, but his comments were generally colored by a note of bitterness and personal enmity. Typical is the exclamation:

Hole der Henker den Gott, um den alles rings umher eine Fratze sein soll, die er nach seinem Gefallen brauchet; oder gelinder zu sagen, ich drücke mich weg von dem grossen Künstler, dem einzigen rückstrahlenden All im All der Natur, der auch seine Freunde und was ihm vorkommt bloss als Papier ansieht, auf welches er schreibt, oder als Farbe des Paletts, mit dem er malt.³

Whether Herder had heard Moritz speak of Goethe as a god

¹Without subtracting any value from Moritz' fundamental ideas I might call attention to a few examples. In the Bildende Nachahmung, he loses himself in a game of hair-splitting definitions trying to distinguish from one another the terms "nützlich," "gut," "edel-schön," "unedel," "schlecht" and "unnütz." In the end Moritz admits that it is a mere play of ideas ("ein Ideenspiel"). In the essay "Die metaphysische Schönheitslinie" he indulges in a complicated and unnecessarily prolonged comparison of the work of art to a circle representing the cosmic whole. He had greatly overworked the idea of looking for a central point in the completed work of art.

²Eybisch, op. cit., p. 279.

³Düntzer and Herder, op. cit., p. 273. Cf. ibid., pp. 248, 258.

or whether it was sheer coincidence that he, too, employed the term is a question of no serious import. The significant fact is that his remarks, irrespective of their biased tenor, can be presented as added testimony for the contention that Goethe had served as the prototype for Moritz' artist. Herder's error rested in the belief that the essay Ueber die bildende Nachahmung des Schönen and especially the analysis of creative genius was written solely as a tribute to Goethe or as Sommer says, as a "Lobhymnus auf Goethe."¹ What he failed to see was that Goethe had served only as the model, and the genius which Moritz described was not exclusively Goethe but the archetype of all creative genius.

Irrespective of the fact that in Anton Reiser Moritz views the trials of his youth as the consequences of error and misguidance and the efforts towards poetic creativity as the sorry outcome of ambition, he never ceased writing poetry entirely, but would on occasion try his hand at composing a verse or two.² Klischnig writes: "Verse zu machen, war in seiner Jugend sein grösstes Vergnügen. Bei reifern Jahren sah er ein, dass er nicht zum Dichter geboren sey, und doch--machte er bis an seinen Tod Verse, die er aber oft auf eine komische Art selbst tadelte."³ Of all his works Moritz' two novels Anton Reiser and Andreas Hartknopf might claim artistic merit, but would suffer tremendously if subjected to his own aesthetic standards.⁴

Already in the Bildende Nachahmung (1788), prior to the publication of Part IV of Anton Reiser (1790) and Klischnig's Erinnerungen (1794), there is an indication that Karl Philipp Moritz had realized his lack of creative ability. In certain parts of this essay there is a noticeable subjective touch.⁵ When

¹Sommer, op. cit., p. 333.

²For some of Moritz' later poems written to his wife see E, pp. 224 ff.

³E, p. 253. On p. 43 Klischnig speaks of some of Moritz' earliest verse dedicated to the King of Prussia and says: "Reiser [Moritz] gestand in der Folge selbst, dass sie [die Gedichte an den König] nur wenig poetischen Werth hätten,--wie er denn überhaupt in reifern Jahren auf den Namen eines Dichters keinen Anspruch machte."

⁴Moritz also wrote Blunt oder der Gast (1781), a one-act play, which is of significance only in so far as it is a harbinger of the German fate-tragedy of the nineteenth century.

⁵BN, pp. 19, 11. 9-26; 20, 11. 12-35; 22, 11. 20-37; 23, 11. 1-5; 28, 11. 16-37; 29, 11. 1-9.

speaking of the creative artist he refers to him as "das schaffende Genie," "das bildende Genie" or he employs forms of a pronoun in the third person such as "ihm" and "es." In speaking of the people who possess only receptive power he uses the personal pronouns "uns," and "wir"--thereby including himself--and speaks of "unser Genuss," "aus unsrer eigenen Kraft," "um unsretwillen," and so forth.¹ In other words he makes it very clear as to which group he assigns himself. The inference seems reasonable that this is not accidental. There is nothing resentful in the distinction; there is rather a wistful admiration for a vainly coveted ideal. With the conviction of one who speaks from bitter experience he proffers a method by means of which one can determine whether one is in possession of genuine creative power or not. He who flatters himself with the belief that he has true creative ability should analyze the motives which may have induced in him the urge to create a work of art. If after all egocentric motives have been dismissed, there is still an adequate incentive to instigate the energetic faculty then one may follow the original creative urge, for it is genuine and pure. If, on the other hand, it is discovered that an incentive no longer exists, then one has sufficient proof that the desire to create was false.² Such a person need not cast himself into an abyss of despair for he is not lost. He has won a struggle with himself, because by recognizing his limitations he is in a position to establish the peace of his inner being and to cease a futile search for the forbidden fruit. Accepting the fact that he has only receptive power he can bring

¹The possibility that the transition from the third person to the first person might also be a conscious or unconscious device for stylistic relief should not be overlooked. However the subjective tenor of this entire section of the Bildende Nachahmung and its close resemblance to Part IV of Anton Reiser speaks against this possibility. In both works there is the same distinction between the true creative artist and the dilettante. The question which arises therefore is whether theory had preceded experience or inversely experience had preceded theory. It could theoretically have been either. Certain is the fact that the Bildende Nachahmung (1788) preceded Part IV of Anton Reiser (1790) in composition and publication.

²In suggesting this method of self-examination, Moritz is being entirely subjective. He is speaking from the point of view of a critic, and of a person who is not endowed with the necessary faculties to create. He seems to overlook the fact that the true creative artist, the chosen protégé of nature, would never stop and question his abilities.

himself back within the bounds of his natural abilities and content himself with the purest contemplation of beauty.

... Das nun wieder in seine Rechte getretne Empfindungsvermögen eröffnet sich, zum Lohne für sein bescheidenes Zurücktreten in seine Grenzen, dem reinsten Genuss des Schönen, der mit der Natur seines Wesens bestehen kann.¹

Even in all subsequent writings pertaining to aesthetics Moritz never links himself with the artist.

Related to the remarks above concerning the Bildende Nachahmung is an article which appears in Italien und Deutschland,² a periodical which Moritz published in collaboration with W. Hirt (1759-1836). As in the Bildende Nachahmung Moritz divides that refined part of a nation which concerns itself with literature and the arts into those who can produce art and those who can only enjoy art. He who belongs to the former group must possess both creative genius and taste, whereas he who belongs to the latter need only have taste or the ability to appreciate duly the beauty created by the artist. Between these two main classes is introduced a new third group which is designated as "der betrachtende" or "beschauende Theil." Members of this group do not possess creative ability nor are they entirely passive recipients of beauty. They compensate for the lack of expressive genius by investigating the problems of artistic creativity and the perception and appreciation of beauty. Strictly speaking, even though Moritz makes of it a third category, this group belongs decidedly to the class of receptive beings, for in spite of their probing, the members of this group can never accomplish the creation of a work of art.

Diess ist der betrachtende oder beschauende Theil, der weder bloss genießt, noch eigentliche Hervorbringungskraft besitzt, sondern sich für den Mangel derselben dadurch schadlos hält, dass er der Hervorbringung des Schönen in ihren geheimen Wegen, und der Empfindung des Schönen in ihren geheimsten Gängen nachspäheth. In diesem ruhig betrachtenden oder beschauenden Theile knüpft sich eigentlich das genauere Band zwischen der hervorbringenden und genießenden Klasse, weil Schein und Widerschein hier gleichsam in einem neuen Brennpunkte zusammen treffen.³

¹BN, p. 23, ll. 2-5.

²"Ueber eine Preisfrage: Wie kann der Nationalgeschmack durch die Nachahmung der fremden Werke, aus der alten sowohl als neuern Litteratur, entwickelt und vervollkommenet werden?" op. cit., I (1789), Part II, 35-43.

³Ibid., p. 39.

Here belong all critics, and, although not expressly stated in the essay, also Karl Philipp Moritz. For, as we already know, Moritz' attitude towards art was not entirely passive. Lacking active genius and unable to content himself with mere tranquil enjoyment, he endeavored to penetrate the mysteries of artistic creativity and beauty. He undertook his investigations not only for personal enlightenment and self-satisfaction but with the sincere purpose of disseminating his findings and of promoting the cause of that which he believed to be true beauty and art. Self-analysis and experience had made him realize his own limitations but it did not prevent him from recognizing a truly great gift.

Moritz' futile effort to succeed as an artist revealed to him the negative aspect of his conception of the artist, namely, what the creative artist is not. His acquaintance with Goethe provided the positive aspect, namely what the creative artist really is. From both of these experiences finally was evolved the description of the artist which was presented in the preceding chapter.

Though the story of Moritz' youth had its parallel in the Sorrows of Werther, there was for him no tragic ending.¹ He accepted the fact that he would never become a poet or an artist of any kind and resigned himself to the constructive effort of investigating the problems of aesthetic theory and of acting as a guide to the youthful aspirants who entered the academy of arts in Berlin. Small as his legacy to literature and the science of aesthetics may seem from the point of view of quantity, it is of great significance in its sincerity and in the truth of many of its utterances. Though he did not enjoy the contemporary fame of an Iffland, a Kotzebue, and a Nicolai, he had the singular privilege of being acknowledged and befriended by the outstanding writers of his century.² Of Karl Philipp Moritz one can say what Johann Wolfgang von Goethe had once said with regard to Wilhelm

¹Hermann Blumenthal, "Karl Philipp Moritz und Goethe's 'Werther,'" Zeitschrift für Aesthetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft, XXX (1936), 28-64.

²He went to school with A. W. Iffland, met Friedrich Nicolai, knew Moses Mendelssohn, Wieland, Herder, Karl August, Schiller, and Goethe. His lectures were attended by Tieck, Wackenroder, and Alexander von Humboldt. And in his last year of life he corresponded with Jean Paul.

Meister:

Die Anfänge ... entsprangen aus einem dunkeln Vorgefühl der grossen Wahrheit: dass der Mensch oft etwas versuchen möchte, wozu ihm Anlage von der Natur versagt ist, unternehmen und ausüben möchte, wozu ihm Fertigkeit nicht werden kann; ein inneres Gefühl warnt ihn abzustehen, er kann aber mit sich nicht in's Klare kommen, und wird auf falschem Wege zu falschem Zwecke getrieben ohne dass er weiss wie es zugeht. Hiezu kann alles gerechnet werden, was man falsche Tendenz, Dilettantismus u. s. w. genannt hat. Geht ihm hierüber von Zeit zu Zeit ein halbes Licht auf, so entsteht ein Gefühl das an Verzweiflung gränzt, und doch lässt er sich wieder gelegentlich von der Welle, nur halb widerstrebend, fortreissen. Gar viele vergebend hiedurch den schönsten Theil ihres Lebens, und verfallen zuletzt in wundersamen Trübsinn. Und doch ist es möglich, dass alle die falschen Schritte zu einem unschätzbaren Guten hinführen: eine Ahnung die sich in Wilhelm Meister immer mehr entfaltet, aufklärt und bestätigt, ja sich zuletzt mit klaren Worten ausspricht: „Du kommst mir vor wie Saul, der Sohn Kis, der ausging seines Vaters Eselinnen zu suchen, und ein Königreich fand.“¹

¹WA, XXXV, 8.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alexis, Willibald. "Anton Reiser," Literarhistorisches Taschenbuch für 1847. Edited by R. E. Prutz. V, 1-71.
- Altenberger, Wilhelm. Karl Philipp Moritz' pädagogische Ansichten. Leipzig: Gressner und Schramm, 1905.
- Béguin, Alfred. L'Âme romantique et le Rêve. Essai sur le Romanisme allemand et la Poésie française. 2d ed. Paris: Librairie José Corti, 1939.
- Berendt, H. "Goethes Wilhelm Meister. Ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte," Literarhistorische Gesellschaft, Bonn. Heft X. Dortmund: F. W. Ruhfus, 1911.
- Blumenthal, Hermann. "Karl Philipp Moritz und Goethe's 'Werther,'" Zeitschrift für Aesthetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft, XXX (1936), 28-64.
- _____. "Rezension von Fahrners Schrift 'Die Götterlehre von Moritz,'" Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur, LIII (June, 1934), 149-150.
- _____. Zeitgenössische Rezensionen und Urteile über Goethes 'Götz' und 'Werther.' "Literarhistorische Bibliothek"; Berlin: Junker und Dünnhaupt, 1935.
- Brasch, Moritz (ed.). Moses Mendelssohn's Schriften zur Philosophie, Aesthetik und Apologetik. Vol. II. Leipzig: Leopold Voss, 1880.
- Braun, Julius W. Schiller und Goethe im Urtheile ihrer Zeitgenossen. I. Abtheilung, I. Band. Leipzig: Bernhard Schlicke, 1882.
- Brüggemann, Fritz. Die Ironie in Tiecks William Lovell und seinen Vorläufern. Leipzig: Oscar Brandstetter, 1909.
- Campe, Joachim Heinrich. Moritz--ein abgenöthigter trauriger Beitrag zur Erfahrungsseelenkunde. Braunschweig: Verlag der Schulbuchhandlung, 1789.
- Cassirer, Ernst. Freiheit und Form. Berlin: Bruno Cassirer, 1922.
- Danton, G. H. "Anton und Asmus Semper," Modern Language Notes, XXIII (1908), 77-78.
- Dessoir, Max. Geschichte der neueren deutschen Psychologie. Vol. I. Berlin: Carl Duncker, 1894.
- _____. Karl Philipp Moritz als Aesthetiker. Naumburg: H. Sieling, 1889.
- Düntzer, Heinrich (ed.). Aus Karl Ludwig von Knebels Briefwechsel mit seiner Schwester Henriette. Jena: Friedrich Mauke, 1858.
- Düntzer, Heinrich, and Herder, Ferdinand Gottfried von (eds.). Herders Reise nach Italien. Giessen: J. Ricker, 1859.

- Dunnington, Guy Waldo. "The Relationship of Jean Paul to Karl Philipp Moritz." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of German, University of Illinois, 1938.
- Ernst, Fritz. "Karl Philipp Moritz," *Corona*, II (1931-1932), 562-571.
- Eybisch, Hugo. Anton Reiser. Untersuchungen zur Lebensgeschichte von Karl Philipp Moritz und zur Kritik seiner Autobiographie. "Probefahrten. Erstlingsarbeiten aus dem Deutschen Seminar in Leipzig"; Leipzig: R. Voigtländer, 1909.
- Fahrner, Rudolf. Die Götterlehre von Moritz. Marburg: N. G. Elwert, 1932.
- Fielitz, Wilhelm (ed.). Schiller und Lotte. 1788-1805. 3d ed. Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta, 1879.
- Geiger, Ludwig. "Karl Philipp Moritz," *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, XXII (1885), 308-320.
- Goedeke, Karl. Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung aus den Quellen. V, Abteilung II. 2d ed. Dresden: L. Ehlermann, 1893, 490-491; IV, Abteilung II. 3d ed. Dresden: L. Ehlermann, 1910, 577-578.
- _____. (ed.). Schillers Briefwechsel mit Körner. Part I. 2d ed. Leipzig: Veit and Comp., 1878.
- Goethes Werke. Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1887-1919.
- Hackemann, A. "Goethe und sein Freund Karl Philipp Moritz," *Zeitschrift für den deutschen Unterricht*, XXI (1907), 545-563, 624-635.
- Harnack, O. (ed.). Zur Nachgeschichte der italienischen Reise. Weimar: Goethe-Gesellschaft, 1890.
- Haym, Rudolf. Die romantische Schule. 3d ed. Berlin: Weidmann, 1914.
- _____. Herder nach seinem Leben und seinen Werken. Vol. II. Berlin: R. Gaertner, 1885.
- Heil, Alfred. "Karl Philipp Moritz als Romanschriftsteller," *Grenzboten*, 48. Jahrgang, IV (1889), 271-281.
- Heppe, Heinrich. Geschichte der quietistischen Mystik in der katholischen Kirche. Berlin: W. Hertz, 1875.
- Herz, Marcus. "Etwas Psychologisch-medizinisches," *Journal der practischen Arzneykunde*, V (1798), Part II, 259-321.
- Hettner, Hermann. Literaturgeschichte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts. Part III, Book III, Section I. 6th ed. Braunschweig: Vieweg and Sohn, 1913.
- Hinsche, Georg. Karl Philipp Moritz als Psychologe. Halle a S.: C. A. Kaemmerer and Co., 1912.
- Hoffmann, Kurt. Karl Philipp Moritz' 'Anton Reiser' und seine Bedeutung in der Geschichte des deutschen Bildungsromans. Ph.D. dissertation. Breslau, 1923.
- Iffland, A. W. Ueber meine theatralische Laufbahn. "Deutsche Literaturdenkmale des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts"; Stuttgart: G. J. Göschen, 1886.
- Jean Pauls Sämtliche Werke. I. Abteilung, XI. Band. Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1935.

- Jördens, Karl Heinrich. Lexikon deutscher Dichter und Prosaisten. Supplemente. Vol. VI. Leipzig: Weidmann, 1811.
- Kindt, Karl. Die Poetik von Karl Philipp Moritz. Ph.D. dissertation. Rostock, 1924.
- Klenze, Camillo von. The Interpretation of Italy. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1907.
- Klischnig, Karl Friedrich. Erinnerungen aus den zehn letzten Lebensjahren meines Freundes Anton Reiser. Berlin: Wilhelm Vieweg, 1794.
- Koch, Franz. Goethe und Plotin. Leipzig: J. J. Weber, 1925.
- Kreis, Friedrich. Die Autonomie des Aesthetischen in der neueren Philosophie. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1922.
- Kühnemann, Eugen. Herder. 3d ed. München: C. H. Beck, 1927.
- _____. Herders Leben. München: C. H. Beck, 1895.
- Kurrelmeyer, W. "A Fragment of an Earlier Version of 'Anton Reiser,'" Modern Language Notes, XXXIII (1918), 1-7.
- Lachmann, Karl (ed.). Gotthold Ephraim Lessings sämtliche Schriften. 3d ed. Stuttgart: G. J. Göschen, 1886-1924.
- Lehmann, Rudolf. "Anton Reiser und die Entstehung des Wilhelm Meister," Jahrbuch der Goethe-Gesellschaft, III (1916), 116-134.
- Leroux, Robert. Guillaume de Humboldt. Paris: Les belles Lettres, 1932.
- Loeper, G. von. "Rezension von K. J. Schröber's 'Faust von Goethe,'" Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie, II (1881), 131-134.
- Lutz, Emile. Herders Anschauungen vom Wesen des Dichters und der Dichtkunst in der ersten Hälfte seines Schaffens. Erlangen: Karl Döres, 1925.
- Minder, Robert. Die religiöse Entwicklung von Karl Philipp Moritz auf Grund seiner autobiographischen Schriften. "Neue Forschung. Arbeiten zur Geistesgeschichte der germanischen und romanischen Völker"; Berlin: Junker und Dünhaupt, 1936.
- Morgan, Bayard Quincy. A Critical Bibliography of German Literature in English Translation. 2d ed. revised. California: Stanford University Press, 1938.
- Moritz, Karl Philipp. Allgemeiner deutscher Briefsteller, welcher eine kleine deutsche Sprachlehre, die Hauptregeln des Styls und eine vollständige Beispielsammlung aller Gattungen von Briefen enthält. 7th ed. Berlin: Friedrich Maurer, 1815.
- _____. Andreas Hartknopf. Berlin: J. F. Unger, 1786.
- _____. Andreas Hartknopfs Predigerjahre. Berlin: J. F. Unger, 1790.
- _____. Anthousa oder Roms Alterthümer. Vol. I. Berlin: Friedrich Maurer, 1791.
- _____. Anton Reiser. Edited by Ludwig Geiger. "Deutsche Literaturdenkmale des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts"; Heilbronn: Gebr. Henninger, 1886.

- _____ . Anton Reiser. Edited by Heinrich Schnabel. München:
Martin Mörike, 1912.
- _____ . Anweisung die gewöhnlichsten Fehler, im Reden, zu
verbessern, nebst einigen Gesprächen. Berlin: Arnold
Wever, 1781.
- _____ . Beiträge zur Philosophie des Lebens mit einem Anhang
über Selbsttäuschung. 3d ed. Berlin: Arnold Wever, 1791.
- _____ . Bestimmung des Zweckes einer Theorie der schönen
Künste," Berlinisches Archiv der Zeit und ihres Geschmacks,
I (March, 1795), 255-256.
- _____ . Blunt oder der Gast. Berlin: Arnold Wever, 1781.
- _____ . "Der Dichter im Tempel der Natur," Deutsche Monats-
schrift, I (1793), 72-78.
- _____ . Die neue Cecilia. Berlin: J. F. Unger, 1794.
- _____ . "Einfachheit und Klarheit," Deutsche Monatsschrift,
II (1792), 34-37.
- _____ . Götterlehre; oder mythologische Dichtungen der Alten.
2d ed. Berlin: J. F. Unger, 1795.
- _____ . Kleine Schriften die deutsche Sprache betreffend.
Berlin: Arnold Wever, 1781.
- _____ . Launen und Phantasien. Edited by Karl Friedrich
Klischnig. Berlin: Ernst Felisch, 1796.
- _____ (ed.). Magazin zur Erfahrungsseelenkunde als ein Lesebuch
für Gelehrte und Ungelehrte. 10 vols. Berlin: A. Mylius,
1783-1793.
- _____ . Reisen eines Deutschen in England. Edited by Otto zur
Linde. "Deutsche Literaturdenkmale des 18. und 19. Jahr-
hunderts"; Berlin: Behr, 1903.
- _____ . Reisen eines Deutschen in Italien in den Jahren 1786-
1788. Berlin: Friedrich Maurer, 1792-1793.
- _____ . Ueber die bildende Nachahmung des Schönen. Edited by
Sigmund Auerbach. "Deutsche Literaturdenkmale des 18.
und 19. Jahrhunderts"; Heilbronn: Gebr. Henninger, 1888.
- _____ . "Ueber die Vereinfachung der menschlichen Kenntnisse,"
Deutsche Monatsschrift, III (1791), 269-272.
- _____ . "Ueber ein Gemählde von Göthe," Deutsche Monatsschrift,
I (1792), 243-250.
- _____ . "Ueber eine Preisfrage: Wie kann der Nationalgeschmack
durch die Nachahmung der fremden Werke, aus der alten
sowohl als neuern Litteratur, entwickelt und vervollkommenet
werden?" Italien und Deutschland, I (1789), Part II, 35-
43.
- _____ . Ueber eine Schrift des Herrn Schulrath Campe, und über
die Rechte des Schriftstellers und Buchhändlers. Berlin,
1789.
- _____ . Versuch einer deutschen Prosodie. Berlin: Sander,
1815.
- _____ . "Versuch einer Vereinigung aller schönen Künste und
Wissenschaften unter dem Begriff des in sich selbst Vol-
lendeten." Appended to Ueber die bildende Nachahmung des

Schönen. "Deutsche Literaturdenkmale des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts"; Heilbronn: Henninger, 1888.

_____. Vorbegriffe zu einer Theorie der Ornamente. Berlin: K. Matzdorff, 1793.

_____. Vorlesungen über den Styl. Edited by J. J. Eschenburg. Braunschweig: F. Vieweg, 1808.

Müffelmann, Friedrich. Karl Philipp Moritz und die deutsche Sprache. Greifswald: Hans Adler, 1930.

Nadler, J. Literaturgeschichte des deutschen Volkes. Vol. II. 4th ed. Berlin: Propyläen-Verlag, 1938.

Naef, Eduard. Karl Philipp Moritz, seine Aesthetik und ihre menschlichen und weltanschaulichen Grundlagen. Affoltern a. A.: J. Weiss, 1930.

Obenauer, Karl Justus. Die Problematik des aesthetischen Menschen der deutschen Literatur. München: C. H. Beck, 1933.

Oehrens, Wilhelm. Ueber einige aesthetische Grundbegriffe bei Karl Philipp Moritz. Beiträge zur Geschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Abhandlung 'Ueber die bildende Nachahmung des Schönen.' Hamburg: Hans Christian, 1935.

Riemann, Albert. Die Aesthetik Alexander Gottlieb Baumgartens unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Meditationes philosophicae de Nonnullis ad Poema pertinentibus. "Bausteine zur Geschichte der deutschen Literatur"; Halle a. S.: Max Niemeyer, 1928.

Robertson, John George. Lessing's Dramatic Theory. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1939.

Sandbach, Francis E. "Karl Philipp Moritz's 'Blunt' and Lillo's 'Fatal Curiosity,'" The Modern Language Review, XVIII (1923), 449-457.

Scheuten, Karl. Seelengeschichte und Entwicklungsroman. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des romantischen Romanes. Ph.D. dissertation. Bonn: Studentenwerk Bonn, e. V., 1934.

Schlichtegroll, Friedrich. Nekrolog auf das Jahr 1793. Vol. II. Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1795.

_____. Supplement-Band des Nekrologs für die Jahre 1790, 91, 92 und 93. II. Abteilung. Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1798.

Schmidt, Erich. Richardson, Rousseau und Goethe. Jena: Eduard Frommann, 1875.

Schneider, F. J. Die deutsche Dichtung vom Ausgang des Barocks zum Beginn des Klassizismus. "Epochen der deutschen Literatur"; Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1924.

_____. Die Freimaurerei und ihr Einfluss auf die geistige Kultur in Deutschland am Ende des XVIII. Jahrhunderts. Prag: Taussig and Taussig, 1909.

Schultz, Franz. Klassik und Romantik der Deutschen. Vol. I. "Epochen der deutschen Literatur"; Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1935.

Schwinger, Reinhold. Innere Form. München: C. H. Beck, 1934.

Shaftesbury, Anthony Earl of. Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times, etc. Edited by John M. Robertson. 2 vols.

- London: Grant Richards, 1900.
- Sommer, Robert. Grundzüge einer Geschichte der deutschen Psychologie und Aesthetik. Würzburg: Stahel, 1892.
- Spranger, Eduard. Wilhelm von Humboldt und die Humanitätsidee. 2d ed. Berlin: Reuther and Reichard, 1928.
- Stahl, E. L. Die religiöse und die humanitätsphilosophische Bildungsidee und die Entstehung des deutschen Bildungsromans im 18. Jahrhundert. "Sprache und Dichtung"; Bern: Paul Haupt, 1934.
- Stöcker, Helene. Zur Kunstanschauung des XVIII. Jahrhunderts. "Palaestra"; Berlin: Mayer and Müller, 1904.
- Strich, Fritz. Die Mythologie in der deutschen Literatur von Klopstock bis Wagner. 2 vols. Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1910.
- That, Erich. Goethe und Moritz. Ph.D. dissertation. Kiel, 1920.
- Unger, Rudolf. "Zur seelengeschichtlichen Genesis der Romantik," Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Heft III und IV (1930), pp. 311-344.
- Waiblinger, Erwin. "Anton Reiser," Das Literarische Echo, XIV (1912), 1715-1716.
- Walzel, Oskar. "Die Sprache der Kunst," Jahrbuch der Goethe-Gesellschaft, I (1914), 3-62.
- _____. Introduction to Goethe's sämtliche Werke. Vol. XXXVI of the Jubiläums-Ausgabe. Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta, Nachfolger.
- _____. Vom Geistesleben alter und neuer Zeit. Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1922.
- _____. "Von den 'Lehrjahren' zur 'Novelle,'" Germanische Monatsschrift, XVII (1929), 35-49.
- Weisstein, Gotthilf. Carl Philipp Moritz. Berlin: J. Harrwitz Nachfolger, 1899.
- Winckelmann, J. Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums. Wien: Phaidon Verlag, 1934.
- Windel, R. "Karl Philipp Moritz als pädagogischer Schriftsteller," Neue Jahrbücher für Pädagogik, IX (1906), 44-59.
- Wolf, Hermann. Versuch einer Geschichte des Geniebegriffs in der deutschen Aesthetik des 18. Jahrhunderts. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1923.
- Wüstling, F. Tiecks William Lovell. "Bausteine zur Geschichte der neueren deutschen Literatur"; Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1912.
- Wundt, Max. Goethes Wilhelm Meister und die Entwicklung des modernen Lebensideals. Berlin and Leipzig: G. J. Göschen, 1913.
- Zeydel, Edwin H. "The Relation of Karl Philipp Moritz's 'Anton Reiser' to Romanticism," Germanic Review, III (1928), 295-327.
- Zinkernagel, Franz. Goethes Urmeister und der Typusgedanke. Zürich: Verlag Seldwyla, 1922.

